

# DE BOW'S REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—THE BOOK OF NUMBERS

BY W. M. BURWELL.

IN PENNSYLVANIA.

That the movement for emancipating the people from the politicians is spreading, may be seen from the following:

### RIGHTS OF MINORITIES.

At a meeting of the members of the Republican State Central Committee, from the minority counties of the State of Pennsylvania, the following statement was presented by Mr. Wood, as showing the number of citizens of this State, not represented in the Legislature. The figures are taken from the vote for the Governor of last year:

Votes cast.....	576,508
Republican votes cast .....	290,552
Democratic votes cast.....	285,956
Republican majority.....	4,596
Republican votes in Democratic counties.....	113,661
Democratic votes in Republican counties.....	136,213
Votes not represented in the Legislature.....	249,874
Voters represented in the Legislature.....	326,634
Voters not represented in the Legislature.....	249,874
Majority.....	76,760

An amended resolution by Gen. Wm. Lilly, of Carbon, was adopted.

ed, calling a convention, composed of two members from each minority county, of those in favor of minority representation.

The wisdom of Patrick Henry was worthy of him who first raised his voice against tyranny over individuals. The sovereignty of the State was the helmet of liberty. It might be cloven through, and yet the vitality of the wearer was unimpaired. In those amendments which he advocated were included a general declaration of the reserved rights of the people. The enumeration of powers given to the Federal Government by the States was not to disparage others retained by the people. The powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, were reserved to the States or to the people. That is, not to the whole people of the United States collectively, about which so much has been said, but to each individual person composing the State or the Federal Government. From this reasoning will appear:

1. That the States are but social organizations to protect the civil and religious rights of the people who adopt them. They are intended to promote the interests and to secure the safety of the people who organized them.

2. That the union was formed, and the Federal Constitution adopted to give more effectual protection to the interest of the people that had constituted the State and Federal Government for that purpose. If, therefore, individual rights be deprived of the protection of that Statehood which individuals constructed for their own safety, individuals must fall back upon their inalienable rights which are affirmed in the Declaration of Independence, and guaranteed in the Federal Constitution.

These assertions of personal rights are all the glorious work of our own men. If we have been driven from the battlements of the Statehood which they had erected for the protection of personal right, let us fall back on the field-work which they have provided and defended by the serried ranks of the people. This position is impregnable. We not only have superadded numbers interested in the great guarantee of the Bill of Rights, but we may even demand the guarantee of the Federal Constitution itself. Statehood and State compacts were long thought to be adequate to the preservation of the rights of the Southern people interested in the maintenance of

the title to slave property. This title and its muniments has been overthrown, but the same civil rights still subsist in the persons who compose the States. It could not be that we hold our personal liberty alone by the tenure of another man's bondage, and that the violation of our rights was followed by the loss of our liberty.

No, the people of the South have the same civil rights that they always had. Their title to a peculiar property will no longer be concentrated, and be siezed in a cluster of States. Their rights will no longer be maintained through the interposition of a State sovereignty, which a great number of people did not acknowledge. Perhaps the personal rights of Southern people may be even stronger now than heretofore. They differ now in nothing from those of all the other people of the United States. Instead of being confined to a special community, and a disputed title, these rights will be diffused and disseminated over the continent. Individual right was once encumbered by a denial of its peculiar principle, the right to hold slaves. It was, moreover, involved in a disputed power of protection. If the right of property in slaves was invaded, eleven States interposed the incorporated authority of their people for its protection. If the right of property in the humblest household utensil shall be improperly seized by the tax gatherer, millions of men gather and resist in the sympathy of a common wrong. This defence of personal right will not be restricted by a section, nor by an opinion. It will not be limited by coasts, mountains or rivers. It will not be confined to colors or nationalities. The institution of Statehood was overthrown to overthrow the title of slaves. This act has obliterated the lines which separated men inspired by a common principle. This principle was the civil and religious right of every citizen. The late revolution has enlarged the category of those persons entitled to enjoy these individual rights. It now includes and unites all men who are liable to be oppressed by any abuse of government, Federal or Local. The army of civil liberty has been in effect reinforced and consolidated. Under the doctrine of State rights, a citizen might have invoked the protection of his State for a personal grievance; under the true Republican doctrine, he may go into the public assembly of the whole people of the nation and, proclaim a grievance which may happen to any other man of the whole nation the issue is made up.

On one side are all the men, without regard to section, color or previous condition, who deem that the Government may rightfully inflict the personal grievance complained of. On the other are all the men who believe that the Government cannot rightfully do so. The issue may be even stronger in behalf of the person wronged in the latter case than in the former. All men will unite in resisting an individual wrong, because it may be inflicted upon themselves also, but all men do not admit the right of a State to interpose a sovereign authority for the protection of a citizen who may allege a wrong done by the Federal Government. The rights of the States were simply the consolidated rights of the people included within certain territorial limits. The State incorporated and represented those rights. These rights were condensed into, and maintained by the sovereignty of the State. But if this particular mode of Statehood, resorted to by our ancestors to protect their personal liberties, has been, or shall be borne down temporally or permanently, shall we abandon the object for which alone Statehood was constituted and asserted? The principle is individual right. The State agency was the incidental means employed to secure the principle. Shall the failure of the incident defeat the principle? By no means. If the sovereign right of the people, embodied in the State to protect the citizens, be denied, we fall back on the reserved and inalienable right of the citizen to protect himself. Statehood was like that military engine which the romance called the *Testudo*, under which men marched to battle. It protected them like a roof, or, like its name implies, a shell. If this protection has been destroyed, or even rendered temporarily unavailable, we must employ other agencies of defence. As there were brave men before Agamemmmnon, so there were freemen long before the organization of a State was employed to protect the rights of the people living under it. No Roman, Grecian, English, French or American patriot, of the old times, resisted power to protect the State, but to preserve his own personal liberties and those of his fellow-citizens. Virginius ran into the forum with a blade reeking with the blood of his daughter, slain to protect her from the brutality of a Roman ruler. He appealed to the fathers and husbands of Rome. Brutus slew Cæsar because Cæsar was ambitious of an autocratic and irresponsible authority over the lives



and property of the whole Roman people. John Hampden lit the revolution that brought Charles Stuart to the block, because of an arbitrary exaction upon private property. John Adams and Patrick Henry resisted the imposition of a tax upon an article of luxury, because it did not recognize the right of representation. Many of those men who have resisted the oppression and abuses of government have expressly denied any purpose to change the form of State Government. Most of them, like Luther, Wesley and our first Republican patriots, have only asked for reform in the application of rightful power to individual action. Scarcely any of the most renowned Republicans of any age, or nation, have proposed to defend the Sovereignty of State they lived under. They have sought to reform, or enforce, a constitution for the protection of individual liberty. We should, certainly, like very much to secure the Sovereign protection of the States as a guarantee of the personal liberty of the citizen. But there exists no means of asserting State rights. They had been slain in the house of their friends. They cannot be successfully asserted. To prove this, let us suppose a case in which these rights are palpably violated. It appears, to the aggrieved State, a cause of sufficient gravity to neutralize all the advantages of the Union, and she proposes to secede.

This right has been suppressed by war, and formally renounced by the ostensible authorities of most of the States which resorted to this remedy. What is the next remaining means of asserting these rights? The aggrieved State appeals to the Supreme Federal Court. This body is constituted by appointment of the President elected by a majority of the whole people of the United States, and by a majority of the States represented in the Senate. The State then at best submits its rights to the judgment of its peers. But a right cannot certainly be entitled to that name when it is left to others to determine whether the right exists. This political adjudication is, however, virtually subject to the approval of the Congress. The right of the States, then, consists simply in a right of petition to Congress, or a right of appeal to a court expressly forbidden to traverse the political decisions of Congress, lest it be said, then, that we have surrendered the question of Statehood, and imputed to the administrative power of the country, purposes of which they are conscious.

We resort to the debates of Congress for further evidence on the subject.

On the 8th of February, 1859, the Hon. Mr. Morton, of Indiana, said in the Senate:

"I assert we are one nation, and not thirty-seven different people. That we are one nation, and as such, we have provided for ourselves a national Constitution. Now, if any solemn guarantee of the Federal Constitution is to be repealed, the popular vote of the nation can effect it.

"Senator Drake, of Missouri, has said there now is an act passed by the two houses of Congress, that they do not, by the act of passing it, enter in the records and archives of the nation a solemn judgment that that act is in accordance with the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Edmonds.—Suppose it is not in point of fact?

Mr. Drake.—Suppose it is not in point of fact? Who is to decide it then? Not the courts.

Mr. Edmonds.—Who then?

Mr. Drake.—The people, sir, are to decide it.

Mr. Edmonds.—Revolution!

Now, is there any present impediment to the application of these principles.

#### NO MORE SECTIONALISM BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH.

There is a manifest tendency in the North and South to renew the sectionalism of the past. Every consideration of duty should prompt the South to discourage this attempt. The true alliance of the South is with the West, whose power must soon govern the country, and which is more tolerant and amicable than the extreme east. For the present every past issue between the North and South has been eliminated.

1st. As to slavery, there is no party—there is no person known to advocate the restoration of slave title. The line of 36-degrees and 30 minutes, once intrenched and picketed by jealous and vigilant sections, is obliterated. Just as fortifications which once restrained embattled armies, are now the play places of children unconscious

of the passions which once raged across them. The whole Union is now free soilers. The whole people are free soilers.

2nd. The right of suffrage and office. A new sectional question succeeded the war. It was, shall the emancipated slave be elected to the political equality with the white freeman? The affirmative of this proposition was embodied in the XIV and XV amendments of the Federal Constitution, and the laws consequent thereon. The South, aided by a portion of the Northern and Western people, struggled against this sudden and summary measure. It was, however, a logical corollary of the military conquest which, repealing the title of the slave, left him without a legal superior. We have heretofore shown that the repeal of these amendments is impossible. Since that date, both political parties at the North seem to have accepted the validity of the amendments, and have in effect withdrawn their efforts for their repeal. Perhaps the most conclusive evidence of acquiescence may be found in the adoption, by the House of Representatives, of the following joint resolution:

"That the XIV and XV articles of amendment to the Constitution of the United States having been duly ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, are valid to all intents and purposes as parts of the said Constitution, and as such, are binding upon the Executive, the Judiciary and the Congress, the several States and Territories, and the citizens thereof."

This resolution passed the House by yeas 121, nays 27.

This is conclusive. This question will never make its appearance again in American politics. Three millions of freedmen, with votes in their hands, is an element of power too formidable to fear further attack from the politicians.

3rd. Payment of the National Debt in coin or currency. This was another question which presented a sectional bearing. The South at one time certainly desired the repeal of a debt incurred for its subjugation. As the largest exporter in the Union, the South is especially interested. The annual sale of \$250,000,000 payable in Federal currency demands a steady and uniform measure of value in a par currency. The South has moreover a Pacific Railroad to construct; the Mississippi and other rivers to improve; a system of delapidated levees to repair, and the obstructions of the Mississippi outlets to remove.

We need steamship lines from Southern to Foreign ports, and many other enterprises of construction and acquisition, all of which will require the use of Federal credit.

The Southern States are, therefore, interested in the solvency of the Federal securities and the convertability of Federal currency. This, then, is no longer a sectional question. The rapid approximation of Federal currency to the par of gold, deprives the medium of payment for Federal obligations of its former importance. It has therefore been dropped from the platform of the political party in the West which two years since insisted upon it.

We have no idea that there is any party strong enough to carry, or even to propose absolute repudiation.

The sectional questions are the sequels of the war and of emancipation. They have been all stricken from the controversies of this country. Can any other political difference between the North and South be pointed out? We apprehend not. There are, now, no opinions which may not be avowed openly in either section. The South, then, is de-sectionalized. It has undergone quarantine. We shall next consider how the individual and personal rights secured to the people of the South by the Federal Constitution may be best asserted on the basis of principles common to all the people of the United States.

#### REPUBLICANISM OF 1798-9.

History is filled with examples in which doctrines, inspired with a virtuous object, have been perverted by unworthy disciples and have come to signify exactly the opposite of their original intention. We mean no insidious citations of the crimes committed in the names of religion and liberty. The term Jesuistry has come to mean a vice foreign to the founder of its faith. The thirty popular rulers have degenerated into the tyranny of modern times. It is the same case with the term Republicanism; at one time, in our history, it was used to signify those devoted to the Constitutional protection of popular liberty. It was the antipodes of Federalism. It was the party of Jefferson, Madison, Macon and Clinton. We will quote from Jefferson's memoirs his definitions of the Federal and Republican doctrines. It will show that he was the champion of the people's rights, and that he only employed the organisms of the States and the safeguard of the Constitution to secure these rights. We quote from a letter to Judge Johnson on his history of parties:

"The fact is, that at the formation of our government many had formed their political opinion upon European writings and practices, believing the experience of old countries, and especially of England, abusive as it was, to be a safer guide than mere theory. The doctrines of Europe were, that men in numerous association cannot be restrained within the limits of order and justice, but by forces, physical and moral, wielded over them by authority independent of their will. Hence their organizations of kings, hereditary nobles and priests. Still further to constrain the brute force of the people, they deem it necessary to keep men down by hard labor, poverty an ignorance, and to take from them, as from bees, so much of their earnings as that unremitting labor shall be necessary to obtain a sufficient surplus barely to sustain a scanty and miserable life. And these earnings they apply to maintain their privileged orders in splendor and idleness, to fascinate the eyes of the people, and to exact in them an humble adoration and submission, as to an order of supreme beings. Although few among us had gone all these lengths of opinion, yet many advanced some more, some less, on the way. And in the convention which formed our government they endeavored to draw the cords of power as tight as they could obtain them, to lessen the dependence of the general functionaries on their constituents, to subject to them those of the States, and to weaken their means of maintaining the steady equilibrium which the majority of the convention had deemed necessary for both branches, general and logical. To recover therefore in practice the powers the nation had refused, and to usurp to their wishes those actually given was the steady object of the Federal party. The object of the Republican party, on the contrary, was to maintain the will of the majority of the convention and of the people themselves. We believed with them that man was a rational animal, and endowed by nature with rights, and with an innate sense of justice, and that he could be restrained from wrong and protected in right by a moderate power confided to persons of his own choice, held to their duties by dependence on his own will. We believed that the complicated organization of kings, nobles and priests was not the wisest nor best to effect the *happiness of associated men*, that wisdom and virtue were not hereditary; that the trappings of such a machinery consumed by their expense those earnings of industry they were intended to protect and by the inequalities they produced exposed liberty to



sufferance. We believed that men enjoying in ease and security the full fruits of their own industry, entitled by all their interests on the side of law and order habituated to think for themselves and to follow their reason as their guide would be more easily and safely governed, than will minds nourished in error, and vitiated and debased as in Europe by grievances in defence and oppression. The cherishment of the people then was our principle. The fear and distrust of them, that of the other party. Composed as we were of the landed and laboring interests of the country, we could not be less anxious for a government of law and order than were the inhabitants of cities, the strongholds of Federalism. And whether our efforts to rear the principles and power of our Constitution have not been salutary let the present Republican freedom, order and propriety of our country determine.\*

Now, the same term Republicanism at present covers Federalism or consolidation of all power in the House of numbers. It punishes as treason freedom of opinion, it represents an irresponsible a corrupt and oppressive government. Yet none can deny our original proposition that a Republican government is the form of government best fitted for the American people. Why then may there not be reform in the application of constitutional principles to individual protection? Why may there not be an organization of the whole people, without respect to color or past condition upon the basis of the Bill of Rights and the text of the Federal Constitution? The rights of the States have not been maintained because the rights of the States have not been invaded in a sufficient number of States to make their resistance to the other States effective. Eleven States resisted interference with their title to property in slaves, about twenty-four States did not recognize property in slaves and marched to compel the seceding States to submit. Two or three States not having sufficient interest in slave title to justify going to war about it, tried to stand neutral. The whole party throughout the non slaveholding States, which professed State right, went into the war against the States which fought for State rights. These State rights mean nothing except they are sustained by sufficient force of wealth and numbers to control all appointments. But this wealth and numbers will secure the rights asserted by legislative and

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\*Extract from letter to Judge Johnson, June 12th, 1823, Jefferson Compendium, volume 4, page 386.

electoral action; therefore individual rights can not and need not be asserted by independent State action. The rights of the citizens not being susceptible of effectual assertion through the agency of the State corporation, shall they be abandoned? Not at all. Numbers now rule supreme in the United States. Let numbers be organized upon the basis of the true Republican principle of protection to the individual citizen. Let the minority opinion be always protected and represented. Let the executive, like any other monarch, be limited in his power and held to the responsibility of the block. Let the representative department be a fair emanation from the interest to the whole people; preserving the same proportions exactly between the opinion in the house and the people out doors. Let the personal integrity of those who administer the official trusts of the Republic be of unquestionable character. Let an economical administration of the funds raised by equal taxation be demanded. Let all the personal rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution in all its amendments be held valid and exacted from one end of the Union to the other. Let the true Republicans demand instantaneous redress of the smallest injury committed on its humblest citizens. With an organized action on the part of the people of the United States, the breach made in the constitution by the destruction of State sovereignty can be replaced by that more general and indispensable doctrine of individual sovereignty. Let the Southern people take courage, because free government is not lost. It is not when two monarchs have involved the world in war upon a question of etiquette or of ambition, that the Southern people should yield all that their fathers fought for. Let them keep thereby in view the object of individual right for which wars have been fought and constitutions formed.

If other races have been elevated by the upheaval of revolution to the level of constitutional rights, it gives to personal rights and individual sovereignty so many more defenders. So we may give our despondent friends the encouragement of the Apostle to his jailers, "Do thyself no harm, we are all here." The personal rights of the people will survive the conventional rights of the States; for, in the words of Guizot, and the acts of Bismark, "*Le temps de petits etats est passe*," and in the United States of America "Census is King."

## ART. II.—NEW FACTS IN REGARD TO THE CHARACTER AND OPINIONS OF PATRICK HENRY.

BY P. H. FONTAINE, OF LA.

### HIS DESCENT.

Mr. Wirt mentions the relationship of Patrick Henry with the historian, Dr. Robertson, and the late Lord Brougham. His father and the Rev. Patrick Henry, an Episcopal clergyman after whom he was named, were Scotchmen who emigrated to Virginia from Aberdeen. His mother's maiden name was Sarah Winston, whose ancestors were Welch. He seems to have inherited his shrewdness from his father, and his poetical fire from his mother. His father was a clear-headed, honest and dignified magistrate and planter. The Winstons have produced many worthy sons and daughters, exceedingly talented and highly gifted as musicians and poets, but devoid of ambition. Eloquence in conversation, a fondness for field sports, a fiery temper and dauntless courage have distinguished the men of this family for many generations, but the love of retirement, and an aversion to notoriety have kept them in obscurity. The combination of Scotch and Welsh blood, and the union of the distinguishing traits of each nation, mingled in his character, and made Patrick Henry the first orator and statesman of the Revolution. The historical lore of Robertson, the logic of Brougham, the melody and fancy which gave entrancing power to "Hightoned Hoels Harp and soft Llewellen's lay," were combined to make him an orator "who spoke as Homer wrote." Yet his were not always the unstudied efforts which one would suppose, whose information is derived only from his life, by Mr. Wirt. This amiable and talented biographer, in delineating his hero, underates greatly his early education, and the studiousness, and severe mental labor of his mature age.

His education was not given to him at any college; but his instructor was his uncle, the Rev. Patrick Henry, a very learned clergyman of the Scotch Episcopal Church, who taught a classical school in the neighborhood where he lived. So far from being as illiterate as

Mr. Jefferson represented him, he was an excellent classical scholar, a profound historian, and not only well versed in the learning of his profession, but familiar with the poets and writers of fiction, and all the current literature of his day.

When he settled in Prince Edward County, near Hamden Swaney College, to have his younger sons educated in that Institution, his oldest grandson, the late Col. Patrick Henry Fontaine, of Henry county, lived with him, and was a student; and I have heard him say that he dreaded his grandfather's examinations of his progress in the Latin classics much more than he did those of the Faculty. He told me that he spoke Latin with great fluency. He was present at an interview between him and the celebrated Albert Gallatin which impressed the fact upon his memory. Patrick Henry was Governor of Virginia, and Mr. Gallatin, a young Swiss, came to America as an agent of a number of his countrymen who wished to purchase land, and settle a colony in Virginia. He brought letters of recommendation to Mr. Henry, and visited him to effect the proposed arrangements for the colonists through his influence. Mr. Gallatin did not speak English, and Patrick Henry could not converse in French. But both spoke Latin, and their conversation was maintained fluently in that language. Mr. Gallatin's plan was to purchase a large body of land in a single tract, and to settle his countrymen upon it, where they could speak their own language, and observe the usages of their own country, and devote their attention principally to stock-raising. But Patrick Henry told him that his plan was injudicious. He said he was much gratified to find that he had selected the State of Virginia for the future home of the free and industrious Swiss; and that he would aid him to the full extent of his influence to induce as many of so valuable a class of immigrants as could be procured from his native land to settle in Virginia; but he advised the purchase of land in the valley of Virginia, in small, detached, and widely separated tracts, and not to permit, if possible to prevent it, any two families to settle near each other, but force them to have only the people of Virginia for their neighbors. They would thus soon acquire our language, and a knowledge of our manners and customs, and would lose those of their native land. Their piety and industry would make them prosper, and at the same time benefit the land of their adoption. But if they all settled together, they would not become Americanized; they would maintain their nationality, and

continue to be Swiss, and foreigners; and their manners and customs being different from those of the people around them, might make them antagonistical, and provoke their hostility. It would, therefore, be better to place them in such a position as would force them to merge themselves in the great mass of the people of Virginia, that they might prosper with the young and growing country.

I believe Mr. Gallatin adopted these judicious suggestions. A large number of the Swiss came over and settled in different parts of Virginia, and prospered as emigrants; but all traces of a distinct nationality have long since disappeared from their descendants. Mr. Gallatin's worth was quickly discovered by Patrick Henry, and he predicted his future celebrity as a statesman.

#### THE CHARACTER OF HIS ORATORY.

From the traditions preserved among the people of Virginia, and even from the descriptions given by Mr. Wirt of the marvellous effects of Mr. Henry's eloquence, one is apt to conclude that his splendid speeches were unstudied efforts, poured forth spontaneously to suit the occasion. It is generally supposed that there was nothing of the "smell of the lamp" about his grandest displays, and that in his character the adage, "*Poeta nascitur, orator fit*" was falsified. Under this impression any youth, who has selected oratory for his profession, may be discouraged from aiming at its highest honors, by the consciousness that he possesses no such natural gift, or divine inspiration.

It is true Patrick Henry possessed more perfect organs of speech than Demosthenes. His countenance was commanding, and his features capable of every expression. His voice was strong, clear, and melodious. But he improved all his natural advantages by hard study and judicious practice. No orator, or actor, ever devoted more care to the preparation of his display before the public than Patrick Henry. He was as certainly born a poet, and made an orator as was Cicero, Pericles or Sheridan. In proof of this I will mention those facts which I have learned from my father, and the daughters of Patrick Henry.

He wrote poetry beautifully, and often composed, with much facility, little sonnets for his daughters to sing and play. The words were composed to suit old songs which he admired. But after he had



been gratified with their performance, he carefully tore up and destroyed every line he had composed. As far as I know, his daughters were never able to preserve a single stanza of their father's odes, which they all told me were gems of poetic beauty. He seemed to have feared that such compositions, if published, would injure his reputation, and lessen his influence with the people of Virginia, some of whom still entertain the idea that poets are often eccentric, or devoid of common sense. Yet it is certain that no man can be an orator of the first class, without possessing the reasoning powers of Plato and Newton, associated with the fancy and imagination of Homer. Henry was poet, painter, musician and logician; and the highest efforts of the best of each were displayed in his speeches. I doubt whether more poetry, pen-painting and profound logic can be found combined in a single sentence, if we search the written records of the eloquence of all lands, than is embodied in his laconic announcement of the doctrine of free trade, then almost unknown, but the reception of which is destined to be universal. None but a poet and logician, of the first rank, could have uttered this sublime and beautiful thought to the busy world: "*Fetter not Commerce: let her be free as air: She will range the whole creation, and return on the wings of every wind to bless the land with plenty.*" It also furnishes an image for a painter which only a Raphael could conceive. His speeches are all traditional, except those imperfectly stenographed by Robertson; and from all these the declamatory applications of his arguments, in which the thunders of his eloquence were unloosed are wanting. Robertson confessed that he was too much affected by his declamation to pen it for posterity. He has only preserved his arguments. It is distressing to us, and to be lamented by all students of oratory, that he was as indifferent to his fame as an orator, as Shakespeare was in regard to his reputation as a poet. They exerted their wonderful powers to accomplish present objects; but they seemed to care but little what future generations might think of them as individuals. Patrick Henry was too great to be ambitious. But to accomplish all he intended to effect by his eloquence, whether to break the fetters of his country, or to liberate an innocent individual from "durance vile," he prepared his speeches carefully. In proof of this I will mention what my father related

to me in regard to the preparation of his great speech in the case of the British Debts, many extracts of which are given in Wirt's life. These extracts all show the marks of careful study. My father was studying law with him at the time; and some weeks before the session of the court which tried the case he sent him sixty miles to procure a copy of Grotius. From this and other works on the Law of nations, he made many quotations and with the whole syllabus of notes, and heaps of arguments he filled a manuscript volume at least an inch thick closely written. Near his office in his yard at Red Hill, he planted an avenue of locust trees which I saw in early life; and which shaded a pretty walk. My father said he often saw Patrick Henry walking up and down his avenue with this note book in his hand, and studying his speech from it, for several days in succession before his departure to Richmond to attend the court; and from his gestures, while promenading backwards and forwards under these locusts, he was confident that he was committing much of his speech to memory. As this was certainly the case in this instance, which occurred near the close of his public life, I supposed that he exercised the same diligence in maturing the forensic tasks of his earlier years. His extemporaneous efforts in reply to his antagonists, like those of Demosthenes, were always equal to the occasion. My father said he was in the habit of exercising his voice early in the morning by calling to his servants, and giving them orders while they were at a great distance from him. In doing so his enunciation was distinct, and his voice as clear and melodious as the notes of a fine French horn. He thinks he injured his health by the use of rhubarb.\* Confinement to his books, intense thought, and the want of exercise while storing his mind for the delivery of one of his famous speeches, produced constipation and other phases of dyspepsia. He took a dose of rhubarb to relieve his system; or to use his own expression "to clear his head." His daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Aylett, told me that she thought this habit aggravated his disease which terminated in the form of *intussusception*. He used

\*It is a tradition, in the Preston family, that their ancestress, the sister of Patrick Henry, could be distinctly heard across the valley of the Salt Works, in her morning's inquiries, or salutations. The diameter of the valley at the point referred to, is about three fourths of a mile.—[Ed. REVIEW].

no stimulants, and the scent of a pipe was very disagreeable to him. The old women among the house servants were compelled to hide their pipes, and rid themselves of the scent of tobacco smoke before they came into his presence. He was so sensitive to the disagreeable odor of the pipe that he detected instantly the fumes of one hid anywhere in the vicinity of the house; and his scent was so acute that he seldom failed to find the cause of annoyance no matter how carefully the cook, or laundress addicted to the habit had hid it before venturing to approach him. My father told me that he never knew a person with the sense of smell so perfect; and he was much amused frequently at his grandfather's encounters with the old negroes about the premises who used patriotically the famous weed which was the staple and source of wealth of the "Old Dominion". They always protested that they had not been smoking, and had not touched a pipe; and he invariably proved them guilty, by tracking the scent of the culprit to the concealed pipe, and making her take it away instantly and throw it into the kitchen fire.

His gestures in speaking were all natural, yet sometimes they were not such as would be taught by our modern teachers of elocution. Mr. Wirt has done justice to his manner as an orator.

In 1834 I visited Mr. John Roane, of King William county, Virginia, then the last surviving elector of the first President of the United States. He had represented his district in Congress more than a quarter of a century; and he was then upwards of ninety years old; but his mind was little impaired by age, and memory perfect in retaining past events. Finding that I was a descendant of Patrick Henry, he told me many anecdotes about him, and interested me greatly by describing the scene in the House of Burgesses which sat in St. John's Church, Richmond, when he made his celebrated speech on his resolutions for arming the Virginia Militia. He verified the correctness of the language of the speech, as given by Judge Tyler to Mr. Wirt. I remarked that I could not understand how that speech, eloquent as it was, could have produced the effect described by Mr. Wirt, and I supposed that the account was exaggerated. He said that it was not, and that the influence of his voice, countenance, and gestures gave force to his words; and that no description could give a proper idea of the speech, the effect of it, or

of the orator to one who had never seen or heard Patrick Henry. The venerable old man, during the conversation, animated by the recollection of the sublime scene, seemed to forget his age, and in order to enable me to understand his meaning, he arose, and acted the conclusion of the speech, imitating, I have no doubt, with considerable accuracy, the voice and manner of the forest-born Demosthenes. His words and gestures were as follows:

"You remember the conclusion of his speech, so often declaimed by school-boys. He made every word full of meaning, which is not conveyed by a careless reading, or a delivery of them in the ordinary manner, however correct. When he said, 'Is peace so sweet, or life so dear as to be purchased at the expense of chains and slavery,' he stood in the attitude of a slave fettered in the presence of a despot awaiting his doom. His wrists were crossed, and the manacles were almost visible. After a solemn pause he lifted his eyes and chained hands to Heaven, and prayed in words and tones which thrilled the heart, '*Forbid it, Almighty God!*' He then slowly lowered his hands and turned towards the timid loyalists of the House, who were quaking with terror in view of the consequences of proceedings which would be visited as treasonable to the British Crown, and he said, 'I know not what course others may take,' and accompanied the word by bowing his form, with his hands still crossed, and lowered almost to his feet, while he seemed loaded with chains; his countenance and form—the whole man—was transformed into an oppressed, heart-broken, and hopeless galley-slave. After remaining in this posture of humiliation only long enough to impress the condition of the colony under the iron heel of tyranny upon every soul, he arose proudly and exclaimed, 'But as for me,' and the words hissed through his clenched teeth, while his body was thrown back, and every muscle and tendon was strained against the fetters which bound him, and with a countenance distorted with agony and rage, he seemed for a moment to be locked on in a death-struggle with coiling serpents, then the loud, clear, triumphant notes, 'give me Liberty' electrified the assembly. It was not a prayer, but a stern demand that would submit to no refused delay. The sound of his voice, as he spoke these memorable words, was that of a Spartan peon on the field of Plataea,



and as each syllable of the word liberty echoed through the building, his letters seemed to be shivered, his arms were hurled apart, and the links of his chains were scattered to the winds. He stood proud and erect, with radiant countenance, a magnificent incarnation of Freedom. When he spoke the word liberty, with an emphasis never given it before, his hand were open, his arms elevated, and the sound of his voice, and the sublimity of his gestures, expressed at once all that can be acquired, or enjoyed by individuals and nations fetterless and free. After a momentary pause, only long enough to permit the last echo of the word liberty to cease, he let his left hand fall to his side, clenched his right hand firmly, as if holding a dagger, with the point aimed at his heart, he stood for a moment like a Roman Senator defying Cæsar, while the unconquerable spirit of a Cato of Utica flashed from every feature, and then closed the appeal with the words "or death," sounded with the awful cadence of a dirge, but the dirge of a hero fearless of death, and victorious in death. The gesture, which suited "the action of the word," was made by a blow upon the left breast, with the descending clenched right hand which seemed to drive the dagger into the patriot's heart.

I have endeavored to give in this description precisely the impression of Patrick Henry's manner as an orator, left upon my memory by Mr. John Roane, thirty-five years ago.

The accounts given by Mr. Wirt, and by Mr. Garland, in his life of Randolph, of the last speech of Patrick Henry, are entirely erroneous. They both leave the impression that Patrick Henry was what was then termed a *Federalist*; that he was a supporter of John Adams, and of the Alien and Sedition laws. In the report of his speech, furnished by some personal, or political enemy, to Mr. Wirt, and published in his life, he is made to say that the Alien and Sedition acts were *good laws*. My father has often told me that he never made any such assertion; and in conversing about the matter he generally lost his patience, and said most emphatically that the statement was false; on the contrary he said in his speech that they were *odious and tyrannical laws*; and that they ought to be repealed. but at the same time he complained that he had warned Mr. Medi-



son, who was then endeavoring to induce Virginia to secede from the Union, in the Convention of 1788 that if Virginia adopted the constitution of 1787 she would place herself in the power of a Federal Government which would claim the right under that constitution to pass such laws, and others even more oppressive, and which would certainly exercise it. In spite of his warnings, and prophetic exhibition of the future working of that constitution, mainly through Mr. Madison's exertions it was adopted, although Patrick Henry voted against it on every ballot. He never changed his sentiments in regard to it; but only promised to be a peaceable citizen.

At the urgent solicitation of Gen. Washington, he consented to an election to the Legislature of 1799, to act as a mediator between the parties; and to use his influence in securing a repeal of the laws, so as to prevent Virginia from suddenly dissolving the Union. But in that speech, when he said he would endeavor their peaceable repeal, an old citizen interrupted him with this question, "But, Governor, suppose that Congress will not repeal them?" He promptly replied, "Then we must overturn the Government." He did not urge submission to them, but he wished all peaceable means to be tried first to obtain redress, before an appeal to the *ultimo ratio* of revolution.

In 1838 I verified the statement of my father by the evidence of two gentlemen who heard this speech, and whose testimony agreed in every particular. Mr. Nathaniel West Dandridge and Dr. Miller were then living in Pontotoc county, Miss. Mr. Dandridge studied law with Patrick Henry, and heard him make his last speech. He afterwards married Martha H. Fontaine, Patrick Henry's granddaughter, and settled in Henry County, Virginia. In his old age he moved to Pontotoc, and retained his mental faculties in a remarkable degree to the hour of his death, which occurred only a few years ago. Dr. Miller was a South Carolinian, and married a daughter of Gen. Andrew Pickens, of the Revolution. He lived to a very advanced age, and his memory was very retentive. He was a fine scholar, and a thorough gentleman. His statement corresponded in every particular with that of Mr. Dandridge. But as he was not a relative of Patrick Henry, and his recollection of the pre-

else words used in his speech was more minute than that of either my father or Mr. Dandridge, I will only give his narrative as accurately as I can.

He told me that in 1799 he was a student of Hampden Sydney College, which was closed on the day of the April election in order that the students might have an opportunity to hear Patrick Henry speak. In a card, announcing himself as a candidate for the lower House of the Legislature, he had apologized to the people for his inability to visit the different parts of the county which his age and infirmities prevented him from doing; but he said he would attend the election at Charlotte Courthouse, and speak to them on that day. It was known that he was in very bad health, and it was feared that his speech on that occasion would be his last. Every student that could borrow, or hire, anything to ride, went to the Courthouse, and many of them walked. It was known that he would speak in the porch of a tavern; and Dr. Miller, active and enterprising, pushed his way through the crowd, and secured the pedestal of one of the pillars of the porch, and stood within eight feet of the celebrated orator, who was seated in a chair, conversing with some old friends, while waiting for the gathering of the immense multitude who came pouring in from all the surrounding country, to hear him.

At length he arose, but stooped a little from age, and seemed to be very feeble. His face had a Scotch cast; and when he commenced his exordium, his voice was slightly cracked and tremulous, but in a few minutes a wonderful transformation of the whole man suddenly occurred as he warmed with his theme. He stood erect; his features glowed with the hue and fire of youth; his face shone with an expression that seemed almost supernatural, and his voice rang clear and melodious, with all the intonations of some grand musical instrument, whose notes filled the whole area occupied by the vast multitude, and fell distinctly upon the ear of the most distant of the thousands gathered before him. He said he was utterly spell-bound, and unconscious of the flight of time and surrounding objects, and entirely subject to the sway of the orator until the last word of his peroration was uttered. He was surprised to find that he had been riveted *one hour* to the place where he stood motionless, instead of five minutes. The substance of his speech among other topics, embraced a severe denunciation of the Alien and

Sedition laws, and a warning to the people against the political designs of the Red Republicans and Agrarians of France, and the doctrines of the infidel philosophers of that country whose principles were poisoning the minds and morals of the youth of our country. He vindicated the character of Washington against the charge of being a monarchist, although he said that he and other leading men of the country, although true patriots, had been from the foundation of the Confederacy in favor of a *stronger form of government* than he himself thought the safest and best for Virginia. He exposed the inconsistency of Mr. Madison, Jefferson and others, who after recommending and exerting all their abilities in securing the establishment of the present Constitution, were now urging Virginia to destroy it *suddenly* at the risk of *immediate war* with the other States. He exhorted the people to patience; and promised, if elected, to use all efforts to cast oil upon the waters of strife, and to try every peaceable remedy to secure repeal of the *odious and tyrannical laws* which had alarmed and agitated Virginia, before resorting to a dissolution of the Union, at the risk of plunging the country into all the unspeakable calamities of civil war.

At the close of his speech, the crowd began to disperse, and Dr. Miller was in the act of leaving the spot when his attention, and that of the multitude, was arrested by the shrill, piercing, but musical voice of another speaker, who arose near Patrick Henry as soon as he had resumed his seat. He had never seen or heard of John Randolph. He was a dark complexioned, but ruddy faced youth, very tall and spare, and to use his expression, "looked like a very slim girl dressed in boy's clothes." His voice was that of a woman. Garland, in his life of Randolph, describes a sharp debate which ensued between him and Patrick Henry. Dr. Miller said he was within ten feet of both orators, and heard every word they uttered; and he assured me that there was no such debate as is represented by Mr. Wirt or Mr. Garland. The first ten minutes of Mr. Randolph's speech was occupied with one of the most elegant eulogies of Patrick Henry ever heard; and while he was delivering it, in the most beautiful and touching language, the tears streamed from his eyes, while he was evidently sincere and felt deeply every word he uttered. He lamented bitterly that he was compelled to differ from so great and good a man as Governor Henry; and to maintain the position assumed by the Republican party, and expressed his decided opposition to that

of Gen. Washington and the Federalists, with whom Patrick Henry was identified. He then, in his particularly sarcastic style, launched a severe philippic at Adams, Hamilton and Washington. Dr. Miller said he became so indignant, at the denunciation of the "Father of our Country," that he felt strongly inclined to tumble the arrogant and impudent young stripling into the street. Towards the close of his speech, he reflected sharply upon the position occupied by Patrick Henry, and expressed his surprise that the venerable patriot, whose eloquence aroused the Colonies to arms against the formidable power of England, and who was the first among the patriots of Virginia to draw a sword in the Revolution, which made us a free and independent nation, should now urge the people to a peaceful submission to the laws more odious and tyrannical than the British Government had ever attempted to impose upon them. He supposed that his antipathy to a struggle for freedom from the yoke of our new oppressors, was attributed to that love of ease, and aversion to action natural to old age.

He concluded with a fiery exhortation to the people to resist the first advance of tyranny, and to arrest the arrogant strides of the Federal Government towards absolute despotism over the sovereign people of Virginia promptly and at all hazards. It was the most splendid display of oratory Dr. Miller had ever heard, except the wonderful speech which preceded it. Compared with that, it was but as the ripple of the brook to the Ocean's roar. As far as its effects upon the minds of the people were manifested, Dr. Miller said it was but a straw darted against the wind. The people were under the absolute control of Patrick Henry's speech, and he thought that Mr. Randolph's opposition did not change a single vote. But he excited his admiration, and theirs, by his brilliant effort; and himself and Patrick Henry were elected almost unanimously to the stations for which they were candidates. When he sat down, Patrick Henry arose slowly, and fixed his eyes upon him, Dr. Miller said he felt suddenly a sensation of sympathy for Mr. Randolph and a dread of his impending doom. He seemed like a pigmy about to receive the death blow from the hand of a giant. After the imprudent reflection upon his age and infirmities, and the arrogant attack upon the principles of a patriot so wise, and spotless, he expected that the great orator would give him a retort which would wither him as effectually, as if he had been struck with a thunder-



bolt. He felt assured that he possessed the power to crush him in a moment. But there was nothing fierce in his eagle eye as it turned upon him. But it beamed benignantly upon the proud and promising youth; and there was an excession of admiration and kindness in his countenance as he addressed the crowd. He *made no reply whatever to the speech* of Mr. Randolph, but recommended him warmly to their suffrage in these words:

"Fellow citizens, I have not had heretofore any acquaintance with the young gentleman who has just addressed you, and declared himself a candidate for the office of your Representative in Congress. But I can most heartily recommend him to your favor as one exceedingly talented and well informed. He will make a faithful and watchful guardian of your rights, and I beg of you to *support him* and cherish him when I am gone."

The young orator said nothing in reply, but burst into tears. The magnanimity of Patrick Henry affected him deeply. He admired him more than any man that ever lived; and he never spoke of him in after life, but in terms of profound veneration, and in language descriptive of one whom he regarded as almost divine.

Gen. Wm. S. Cabell, of Danville, Va., said he heard Mr. Randolph endeavoring, on one occasion, to give a friend some idea of the character of his oratory; but he suddenly paused, and picked up a piece of charcoal from the hearth, and pointing to the white wall, he said: "But it is in vain for me to attempt to describe the oratory of that wonderful man. Sir, it would be as vain for me to try, with this black coal, to paint correctly the brilliant flash of the vivid lightning, as to attempt, with my feeble words, to echo the thunder, or to convey by any power I possess, a proper idea of the eloquence of Patrick Henry!" These famous speeches were the first of Randolph and last of Henry. Charlotte county heard the first and last notes of their eloquence which no human instructor can teach, and which no living orator can imitate; and her soil holds sacred their honored remains.

The spirit of liberty which animated them, and which, through their "magic tones," electrified a generation of patriots, now passed away, still breathes and burns in the souls of their descendants; and the very dust of the mighty dead will make the soil with which it is mingled *fatal* to any despot who dares to tread upon it. *Sic Semper Tyrannis* can never be an unmeaning motto on the armorial bearings of



Virginia; or one which is only a memento of a heroic age, and a race of freemen vanished with the Republics of antiquity. "Give me liberty, or give me death" expresses both the aspiration and the firm determination of her sons; and they will be free.

Patrick Henry never changed his political sentiments. The profound thinker, who will read carefully his speeches in the "Debates of the Convention of Virginia," in 1788, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, will find that his predictions in regard to the evils that would result to the States, and especially to the Southern States in the course of time, if that instrument should be adopted were not mere idle alarms used to defeat its adoption, but they were the accurate conclusions of one of the most logical minds ever given to man; the deductions of the reasoning of a statesman who could so clearly "judge the future by the past;" that his confident predictions have thus far been verified by events, as accurately as if these events were the fulfilments of inspired prophecies. I need only refer to detached portions of his different speeches made in that convention 87 years ago, to prove the truth of this assertion.

He saw clearly that the Constitution was artfully framed to place the sovereign power of the United States in the hands of a majority of the people of the great consolidated government, which would absorb the rights of the several States; and he discovered clearly what seems to have escaped the penetration of the other leading statesmen of the South, that the Northern States would have the most numerous population for many years; that the very first important working of the Constitution would be directed by this Northern majority; and that the government would be changed into a despotism of a peculiar kind, that of a Northern sectional majority, which would inflict every form of oppression upon the South. In one of his speeches, he said, "Not satisfied with a majority in the Legislative councils, they must have all our property. I wish the Southern genius of America had been more watchful." He exposed this danger in his opening speech when, pointing to Gov. Randolph and President Madison, two framers of the Constitution, then members of the Virginia Convention, he said, in reference to the first words of the preamble to it, "Sir, give me leave to demand what right had they to say 'We, the people?'" My political curiosity, exclusive of my anxious solicitude for the public welfare, leads me to ask who authorized them to speak the language of '*We the people*,'

instead of *we, the States*? States are the characteristics, and the soul of a confederation. If the States be not the agents of this compact, it must be one great consolidated national government of all the States." This was strenuously denied, but he insisted that the Northern people would so construe it, and administer its affairs; and that all the rights of the several States would be absorbed by it. He said "There is a striking difference, and great contrariety of interests between the (Northern and the Southern) States. They are naturally divided into carrying, and productive States. This is an actual existing distinction which cannot be altered. The former are more numerous and must prevail. What will be the consequence of their contending interests? \* \* \* This government subjects everything to a Northern majority. Is there not then a settled purpose to check the Southern interest? We thus put unbounded power over our property in hands not having a common interest with us. How can the Southern members prevent the adoption of the most oppressive mode of taxation in the Southern States, as there is a majority in favor of the Northern States? Sir, this is a picture so horrid, so wretched, so dreadful that I need no longer dwell upon it." The reporter, Robertson, was too much affected by his eloquence to report the peroration of this splendid speech, and it is lost forever. He only informs us that it was directed to the most iniquitous speculation, and stock-jobbing which would result from this system of government when administered by this Northern majority. In reading his fragmentary reports of these speeches it is plain to discern that prophetic vision dwelt upon all the unfair and onerous legislation of our grasping and crafty partners in the federal compact. He predicted the imposition of the protection tariff, the flooding of the country with a paper currency, and the protection of their shipping interest by bounties. The evils of their sectional legislation in securing for themselves monopolies, and an exemption from all the burdens of the government were clearly foreseen, and eloquently foretold. He foresaw their desperate efforts to hold their power by opposing the acquisition of the lower Mississippi, and by preventing the settlement and prosperity of all that part of its valley belonging to us. He warned the convention that it would ever be the policy of New England to cripple the agricultural interest, and to prevent the formation and growth of States in the South-west which

would be opposed to their policy, and out-vote them in Congress. He pointed the attention of the Convention to the great Valley of the West, and the fertile regions of the then unsettled South belonging to France and Spain, and said, the *great balance* of power will be in the Southern parts of America. "*There is the most extensive and fertile territory. There is the happiest geographical situation contiguous to that valuable and inestimable River.*" He said that these Northern States had already, since the peace with Great Britain, "*discovered a determined resolution*" to give it away, and he cautioned the Southern States that if they adopted the Constitution, the acquisition, and settlement of the of the Mississippi Valley, and the prolific regions beyond, it would be opposed by this Northern power which would use this Constitution to prevent it. In their desperate efforts to maintain their supremacy over the multiplying agricultural millions of the South, he said that they would liberate our slaves and use them to oppress us. "Let all these things operate on their minds. They will search that paper, and see if they have the power of *manumission*. And have they not Sir? Have they not power to provide for the general defense and welfare? May they not pronounce all slaves free, and will they not be warranted by that power in clear and unequivocal terms, and will clearly and certainly exercise it." After detailing all their acts of aggression, and the struggles of the South with their oppression, he gave us now living witnesses of the verification of all his predictions, this wise advice which I hope our statesmen, and our fellow citizens will embrace promptly. "*An Union with our Western brethren is highly desirable on almost any terms. An Union with them alone can lessen or annihilate the dangers arising from that species of population (the slaves). They are at present but few in number, but may be very numerous hereafter. Nothing but a firm commercial, and political Union of the South and West, can save us from the horrible yoke of negro tyranny imposed upon us by the North. After reading warnings of Patrick Henry and the events of history, which have occurred since their delivery, how grandly as a statesman he towers above Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton, and even Washington.\* His*

\*Washington foresaw the same tendencies, and recommended a system of material development to counteract consequences which he foresaw. — Mr. Henry

associates in the convention of 1788, even such men as Tyler, Wythe Lee, Marshall and Pendleton, ridiculed his alarms, and evidently thought his predictions absurd. His predictions were as follows :

1st. It would be a consolidated government of the majority of the whole people, and that the North would administer its affairs with despotic power. President Lincoln declared that the States bear the same relation to the Federal Government which the counties sustain to the States which include them; and Congress now legislates for the States, as the Legislatures of the States do for the counties. It even cuts up States, and forms them into new States, and makes constitutions for their citizens. No reserved rights remain. The Federal Government is declared supreme, and its power is now wielded, as he said it would be, "by a contemptible minority," now a despotic oligarchy, who "prevent the most salutary amendments," and impose what others they choose.

2nd. His predictions in regard to the tariff, bank, stock-jobbing, iniquitous speculation, the oppressions and frauds of Federal assessors, collectors, and harpies of all sorts, who would prey upon the substance of the people, is seen, felt and suffered by suffering millions whose property flows into the coffers of the oligarchs who rule the nation. "We are a nation" is now the boast of Sumner and Motley. We certainly are a nation, oppressed with a mountain of debt, and ruled by the sword.

3rd. His predicting the opposition of New England, and the associated North under her control, to the acquisition and settlement of the South-west, has been verified in the strong efforts made to prevent the purchase of Louisiana, the acquisition of Texas, New Mexico, Utah, Arizona and California. New England furnished only 1100 soldiers for the Mexican war, and the whole of the free States furnished only 3,900; while the South sent into the field 45,000 men. But Louisiana, and all the wealthy regions beyond it to the Pacific Ocean, were acquired by Southern wisdom, valor, blood and gold. But to prevent "the balance of power" from being enthroned in the

never seems to have prepared any means of avoiding a supremacy which seemed inevitable. It is, perhaps, remarkable that no prophet has ever suggested and enacted the measures necessary to prevent the evils which he foretels.—[Ed. Reviewer].

South, they have given a most terrible fulfilment to the prediction that they would.

4th. *Manumit the slaves.* They have even attempted to make them our masters. United as we are, becoming more and more closely with the great West, we cannot be subjected to negro rule. The desperate resolve to establish an oligarchy of Senators has been made to preserve the supremacy of New England. The lower House may unite with them, or side with a popular Military President, who has the affection of the people, and the devotion of the Army and Navy, and who, in a contest with Congress and the Judiciary, will turn both Legislature and Court out of doors, and fulfil another fearful prophecy of Patrick Henry.

5th. "Away with your President, we shall have a King." But I have no time or space in this brief record of facts, in regard to the character of this founder of our once happy Government, to call attention to more of his political prophecies.

I will conclude the list with one, and the most gloomy of all, which was related to me by my father, when he was nearly 80 years old. He and Mr. Dandridge, as has been already stated, studied law with Henry in 1789-90 or 1891, after he had resumed his practice, and settled at Red Hill, in Charlotte county. He was then in very moderate circumstances, and had returned to the bar to support a large family of young children by his second marriage. The Constitution had been adopted by the Virginia Convention in spite of the opposition of Patrick Henry; but only by the meagre majority of 10 votes. The ayes were 89, the nays 79. This small majority had been secured by Mr. Madison, and the leading supporters of it had agreed to accept, and to recommend for adoption, a Bill of Rights, and whatever amendments Patrick Henry and the other opponents of it might propose, to be added to the Constitution as permanent amendments, to prevent the United Sovereign States from being transformed into a consolidated National Government, and to guard against all the dangers enumerated in their various objections to it. A Bill of Rights with twenty clauses, and a list of twenty amendments were proposed by Henry, Mason, Grayson and others, which were adopted by a vote of the Convention; but by what majority is not mentioned in the Debates.



Patrick Henry left the Capitol resolved to be a peaceful citizen, but with little hope of the perpetuity, or success of the form of Government. He was again elected Governor of Virginia which office he declined. General Washington, who was elected President, under the new Constitution, offered him a place in his Cabinet, which he also refused to accept. Whether he had conscientious scruples about holding office under a government which he could not support; or whether the necessity of attending to his private affairs caused his refusal of these flattering honors, cannot now be ascertained. Perhaps he was actuated by both of these motives to retire to the shade of private life. While living in retirement with his family, as planter, and practicing lawyer, the pamphlet containing the Constitution and the additional 12 amendments adopted by the majority of States requisite to make them a part of the instrument, was brought to him and examined by him most carefully in the presence of my father and Mr. Dandridge. He seemed to have been suspicious of the character of some of the framers of the Constitution, and of the crafty politicians through whose hands it had passed since its adoption by Virginia, that he feared they had not only altered the amendments adopted by the Virginia convention, but had tampered with the body of the instrument itself. After reading it carefully, satisfying himself that they had not changed the original paper, he read carefully the amendments to the tenth. When he read this he threw down the pamphlet upon the table, and remarked with great solemnity: "I find that these shrewd Northern Statesmen have outwitted our Southern men again in the wording of these amendments. They determined when this Constitution was framed to make this a great consolidated National Government of all the people of the States. To secure this object they inserted in its preamble the words '*We, the people of the United States,*' instead of *We, the States*. Their object was to make it a Government of the majority of the whole people; that is a Government of the *Northern people*; for they have this *majority*; and under such a government holding this power they can and will exercise it oppressively to the South for their own advantage. To prevent this, and to hinder this majority from doing whatever they may think proper for "the general welfare," which they will construe to mean their own sectional

welfare, I wrote the first 20 amendments adopted, and recommended by the Convention of Virginia in these words: '*Each State in the Union shall respectively retain every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Constitution delegated to the Congress of the United States, or to the departments of the Federal Government.*' This was intended to secure the rights of the States, and to prevent the exercise of doubtful powers by the Federal Government but they have omitted it, and substituted for it this *equivocal* thing to which they have tacked the objectionable and dangerous words of the people.' 'The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the *States respectively*, or to the people.' Why did they add, or to the people?" They determined to make it a consolidated government. They added these words to neutralize the amendment of Virginia, and they have done it effectually. This government cannot last. It will not last a century. We can only get rid of its oppression by a most violent and bloody struggle."

Heat once discerned the craft displayed by this ingenious amendment, worded to deceive the conventions of the different States. They were intended to persuade them that they embraced the strong safe-guard to their rights furnished by the clear and explicit amendment of Patrick Henry. The amendment does this to the word *respectively*. If the amendment had ended there, its meaning could not have been perverted. But the trickery is veiled in the words added or "to the people." They are superfluous verbiage, if they were added to curb federal power, and guard State sovereignty, which the amendment was adopted to effect. But the cunning politicians who inserted them did so with a design of using them to suit their purposes when occasions should arise in the future. We are not "states respectively" with any reserved and sovereign rights "We are a nation" ruled first by a northern majority, and then by a "contemptible minority" of oligarchs. The violent and bloody struggle has ensued, and it is not yet ended. The Constitution is destroyed. The Government has been over-turned, and the century has not yet rolled away. Our present Government is not that framed in Philadelphia; that did not last a century. The new dominion, which has arisen out of it, is changing continually. What it is now is difficult to define. It requires another Henry to predict

what will succeed it. A single Congress, with all modern improvements for the dispatch of business, cannot legislate without reserved rights for 30 great States. A despot cannot long oppress such a people. Insurgent Despots in different departments, in the garb of Freedom's Champions will rise to oppose him; and genuine Brutus, Washington's and Henry's will spring up in others to rend his Empire, and inaugurate new Monarchies, and Republics to rise, fall, and pass away. Nations, like individuals, follow the same course in Time's revolutions, where mutation affects all visible and temporal things. It could astonish the world to witness a new miracle if the covetous, ambitious, revengeful men in power, should voluntarily lay down their authority, call a convention of all the States, and give the prolific sisterhood the free and practicable government advocated by Patrick Henry, a happy confederation of united, but sovereign and independant States. Only such a Republic can long exist. Our consolidated, amalgamated, and chaotic embryo of something so new as to "want a name," cannot last. Perhaps the disruption of the Empire of Alexander, and the wars of his successors, and the various forms of Government which sprang up in Europe upon the ruins of that of Rome, may have their changes, and various events, such as have marked the history of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain represented by the future revolutions which will agitate the vast area now in the limits of the United States. It is some satisfaction, that the Scepter has departed from New England; and the meddling fanaticism and covetousness of her Statesmen can never again shape the course of the Government of the Country, whatever it may be. "Westward the Star of Empire" has taken it's way until it has paused, and it is now fixed over the center of the West. Henceforth as a fixed Star, the planet of progress. The balance of power is already seated in the Valley of the Mississippi.

I have only space to add a few remarks in regard to the charge of avarice, which was made against Patrick Henry, by his political enemies. I suppose no Stateman ever lived who was more free from this vice. In early life, although pure in his morals, he was careless about money matters. He was poor when he entered public life. For many years he sacrificed his private interest by serving the State. He laid down the office of Governor with clean hands,

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and when he retired to private life he was still poor. He felt it to be his duty, in his old age, to make something for his wife and children, knowing that otherwise death would leave his wife, a young widow, without property, and his wife and children helpless orphans. He therefore worked very hard as a lawyer, and as he was employed in many important cases, his fees were large, especially in the suits of the British Debts, and Lord Fairfax's heirs against his tenants, and in many criminal cases. The money he made was well invested in land, and the most of his business transactions were fortunate. He managed all his affairs with great prudence. But he seems to have devoted his attention to money making only about eight years, between 1788 and 1796; and after having secured a sufficient provision for each of his children, three years before his death, he lived in perfect retirement attending to but little business of any kind, happy in the society of family, and the friends who visited him.

The article written by me for Bishop Meade in 1861, and which was published in the *Southern Churchman*, on "the religion of Patrick Henry," and an account of some of his occupations and habits during the last three years of his life, with a narrative of his illness and death, makes it unnecessary to add any other facts to those which are given by his distinguished biographer Mr. Wirt. The eulogy of Byron on Sheridan is applicable to him.

"Nature formed but one such man."

But neither Sheridan, Lord Chatham, nor any other orator of modern or ancient days, equalled him in all the attributes necessary to sway the multitude at will.

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### ART. III.—THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAIL ROAD, ALABAMA COAL AND IRON.

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We find in the Vicksburg Times of the 14th, an abbreviated report of a speech made before the Vicksburg Chamber of Commerce on the Southern Pacific Railroad by Wm. J. Sykes, Esq., of Memphis, Tennessee. The portion of the speech most interesting to the people of Alabama is that in reference to the mineral resources of our State, and their value as connected with the Southern Pacific.

Road. Alabama only needs capital and enterprise to unlock the iron gates of her mountains and bring to the light the treasures that lie hidden beneath. There is no more inviting field to capitalists than our mountain region, and we hope the valuable facts stated by Mr. Sykes, may attract the attention which their importance demands. He says :

I want to see this road built, for the development of the resources of the South—of Alabama iron and coal fields. The road from Chattanooga to Meridian traverses one of the finest coal and iron regions in the world, and it only needs to be opened up to bring into our midst millions of dollars which now find their way into pockets of Northern capitalists. Men may talk strong for the South, but I would not give a dime for such a man, unless he gives his money for the building up of the interests of the South and the development of her resources. Alabama intends to make the rails to build this. Shops are now being built in Chattanooga for the manufacture of iron rails, locomotives and cars. We must get over our cotton mania, too much cotton has damaged us. No section can become great that doesn't develop her resources. There is a mountain in Alabama from 30 to 50 miles in length and 3 miles base that has a coal and marble base and iron top—Red mountain—within 300 miles of Vicksburg, and containing enough iron to build all the railroads in the country—iron finest in the United States. Mississippi has no iron nor coal. In Lowndes and Monroe, the finest cotton lands run up to the very State line, and then commence the coal and iron. Alabama is divided into three coal districts—the Warrior, the Cahaba, and the Coosa, but the great coal field lies between the Warrior River and the Mississippi line, as near the cities of Mississippi as they are those of Alabama. You can ride along there and see it in the creeks and branches, and in many places for hundreds of yards strata of it, ten and twelve feet high. I inquired of a gentleman who worked in these coal beds—for they hardly know up there what a miner is—the cost of getting it up, and he told me that it cost him not more than from three-fourths to one cent per bushel, or about 25 cents per ton, and that it could be delivered on the railroad when built at a cost of about \$2.25 per ton. Counting the cost of freight as the road now charges this would give you coal here in Vicksburg at less than \$4 per ton.



But there is coal nearer on a new line by way of Canton and Aberdene—some 75 miles nearer. Again by way of Grenada and Aberdene, it is only 230 miles to these great coal fields.

We can build our own roads if we will. We got last year \$3000-000,000 for our cotton? Where is the money? Nobody has any—it is all gone—gone to buy what we should have raised and manufactured at home. I tell you, if you will keep only one half of your three hundred millions of dollars at home, you will begin to get rich. No country will ever begin to get rich that buys everything she eats, wears and uses. Keep your money at home, and develop your iron, coal and marble resources. When you do this, you will begin to be independent, I will tell you what we Southern people need, "we want Yankee enterprise." Do you know the commercial difference between a Northern and Southern man—the Southern man sells all he can't eat and the Northern man eats all he can't sell. He gets our money, and then we go to him to borrow. He gets our three hundred millions and then loans us the money. Did you ever see a Southern planter who didn't want to borrow money? The more cotton he makes the more money he must borrow. The cotton mania is our curse. Cotton isn't as big a thing as we think. I want the South to keep some of this money home—use her own coal. Columbus pays \$12 per ton for coal when she might get it for less than \$4.

Let us build our own roads—we can do it. You all know from your reading that the people of Great Britian, in addition to their heavy taxes, paid 1-10 of everything they made to support the established church. Now suppose you paid 1-10 of what you make to improve the country. Of your three hundred millions of dollars you would have thirty millions per year—why in ten years you could have enough money to build every railroad in the country.

When the iron and coal fields of Alabama are fully developed and the Birminghams and Pittsburgs have sprung up all over the State where will she find place for the sale of her fabrics? They wont send them North—they have their own. They will come to Memphis and Vicksburg, and be distributed all over the West. This will be a great commercial city as well as Memphis. I contend there is more wealth in the coal and iron fields of Alabama than there is in the State of Pennsylvania.—*Tuscaloosa Monitor*.

#### ART. IV.—REPORT ON A SOUTHERN BUREAU OF THE COTTON CROP.

To the Hon. Chamber of Commerce of New Orleans.

The Committee, to whom was referred an enquiry into the expediency of establishing in New Orleans a Bureau for collecting and publishing the statistics of the Cotton Crop, growing and on hand, have had the same under consideration and respectfully beg leave to offer the following

##### REPORT.

That the price of this great staple is regulated by the ability of the consumer to buy, and greatly by the quantity on hand. That therefore the large stock held on account of the spinner, and other capitalists in Europe, averaging, perhaps, during the year more than a half-million of bales in Liverpool alone, can influence price more than the more limited average quantity held in the American cotton market and especially in that of New Orleans. Such is the organization on behalf of the consumers, that they are able to hold on for a reduction of prices. In this they are always sustained by the economy of those who wear cotton. In the divisions and apportionment of wages the operative purchases first, food; secondly, clothing. If the wages of the operative are reduced, or if the price of his cotton clothing be increased, he gives more of his wages for food and rent, and prolongs the duration of this very durable material, in this war between the.

##### CONSUMER AND PRODUCER OF COTTON.

The holders of stock can run their mills on short time, and the capitalist can carry the staples over to another crop. This, with the indisposition of the consumer to buy at high rates or of his inability to buy at all, enables the holders of stock to maintain an advantage over the producer. This advantage has been increase

by the insperative necessity which has of late years required the producers of cotton in the Southern States to send their cotton forward at once, and of the inability of American capitalists to hold large stocks on behalf of the cotton-planter. The competition then between these two great antagonist interests is obviously very unequal. The consumer has the fixing of the price very much in his own hands.

The price of cotton is, however, very greatly influenced by the statistics of the growing crop. This does not, from the causes stated, affect price as suddenly as might be caused in the case of provisions which are of the first necessity. The causes stated postpone, though they do not prevent the influence of the growing crop on prices.

The consumers of cotton in Europe, and in the Northern States of the Union, appreciate this ultimate influence and with admirable sagacity they provide for themselves an anterior knowledge of the crop-result by obtaining the statistic of the crop current. An accurate knowledge of the crop in all its stages may thus become an element so important in anticipating or fixing the fluctuation of price, that the correspondence of southern planters and factors has been of much value in forming the estimates of Europe. Agencies have been instituted in Manchester, Liverpool and in the United States for the acquisition and publication of authentic knowledge. Private firms in Massachusetts have published pamphlet reports, based on information communicated by planters, and the Department of Agriculture at Washington has established a special Bureau whose estimates are accepted as authentic. All these organizations and publications are, it will be observed, *in the interests of the consumers of cotton*. What are the counter representations of the producer of cotton. They consist chiefly in the special circulars of a number of most respectable factors. Each expresses his opinion of the state of the cotton crop and the prospects of price. Each represents fairly and faithfully the knowledge desired, from the section of country or circle of his particular patrons employed in cotton production. Those familiar, as ourselves, with the sensitive nature of the growing cotton crop, can well understand that a single rain, or a drouth prolonged for a single week, a local scarcity of labor which pre-

vents crop culture at a critical moment, or the appearance of the worm in any locality may affect the prosperity of production.

This must produce a contrariety of impressions on the part of the factors, each circular being based on the state of facts communicated by the constituents of each factor. All this may be readily corrected by the adoption of the same associated and co-operative system employed by our opponents.

While, then, it is plain that the Southern market cities can no longer control prices to the extent that they might once have done, when their field capital was greater, and when the facilities for sending forward cotton were not as great as at the present, it is evident that they still have an advantage in anticipating, even if they do not fix, prices. The bulletins published in Liverpool, Boston or Washington, must be subject to the disadvantage, that those who conduct the compilation of cotton statistics *cannot* be so familiar with the culture as those who reside in the regions where it is grown and who are in daily communication with those who grow it. The intelligence of Liverpool and Boston must be, to a certain extent, partial because based on the individual hopes and fears of the comparatively few who correspond with them. By the time the Southern correspondence has been compiled and published in Boston, or Liverpool, the statistics of the growing crop may have varied so much, for good, or bad, as to render past statements stale and deceptive.

The advantage of the factors in the Southern cities and especially in New Orleans, consist in their superior opportunities of acquiring an authentic and exact knowledge of the growing cotton crop during every day of its agricultural existence. The factors of New Orleans are personally acquainted with hundreds of planters. They are familiar with the productive capacity of every community, and of every plantation engaged in growing cotton. They know upon whom to rely for an accurate and impartial report of the current crop. They know the effect, upon those lands, of drouth, rain, of worms, of frost, of sufficient or defective, or of irregular or regular labor.

There is, then, an undeniable contest between consumption and production. The object of the one is abundant crops and low prices

and of the other remunerative prices for the capital and labor invested and involved in cotton production. To make this contest equal the producing interest must organize its advantages.

Your committee therefore respectfully represent and recommend that it is eminently advisable and perfectly practicable for the factors of New Orleans to constitute a Bureau for compiling and publishing authentic statistics of the growing cotton crop for the current year, with verified statements of stocks of raw cotton on hand, in all the markets and mills of America and Europe weekly. They would further, respectfully, suggest the means by which this object may be put into practical effect.

PLAN OF THE BUREAU OF COTTON CROP, GROWING AND GROWN.

1st An association of factors and others, under the title and for purposes described above, with a Superintendant, Directors and a Treasurer, with a capital to be paid in adequate for expenses.

2nd. Subscriptions or advertisements to be received for the Bulletins or Circulars.

3rd. Directors to be appointed by and on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce.

4th. The Agricultural and Mechanic's Fair Association to furnish the office, at such compensation as they may deem just, and to appoint Directors also.

5th. The Bureau will open books for the collection, compilation and record of the cotton crops growing and grown. It will arrange the territory, in which cotton is grown for market, in districts and sub-districts. It will ascertain and estimate, as far as possible, the actual and arable acreage of each sub-district, and of each plantation within each district, the acreage actually and annually planted in cotton, and the estimated average capacity of each district in pounds in an average season.

6th. It will appoint agents in every district and sub-district, who will be furnished with proper printed forms, and required each, by mail or telegraph, at least once a week, to report the daily state of the crop, with the local and physical causes which may affect the quantity to be produced. The results of these statistics to be published in a weekly Bulletin, of the growing crop without other comment.



These are but outlines of the idea proposed. The principles upon which the organization is recommended are as follows: 1. That in the contest between the producer and consumer, the planter and factor should organize a fair representation of the crop prospects. 2. That the planter and factor should associate and combine in this organization. 3. That the Chamber of Commerce, of New Orleans, and the Agricultural and Mechanic's Association should unite with the factors and planters in giving effect to this organization.

Respectfully Submitted,  
Dec. 1869.

W. M. BURWELL,  
Chairman Com., etc.

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#### ART. V.—BRITISH MANUFACTURERS.

The annual return of the manufacturers of materials for clothing, in the United Kingdom, have just been published. The general summary shows that the total number of factories is 6,416, the number of combing machines, 11,100, number of spinning spindles, 41,117,094, number of doubling spindles, 2,976,267, and number of power-looms, 549,365. Of these England has by far the largest share, the number of factories there being 5,693, in Scotland 507, and in Ireland 211. Of spinning spindles alone England has 37,943,414, against 2,123,949 in Scotland, and 1,049,732 in Ireland; and of power-looms England has 481,381, against 51,328 in Scotland, and 16,546 in Ireland. As to persons employed, the total is 845,066, of whom 85,221, or one-tenth are children (half male and female) under thirteen years of age; 73,514 are males between thirteen and eighteen; and 212,707 are males above eighteen; no less than 473,624, are females above thirteen. Of the three countries, England employs 669,674 persons: Scotland, 111,606, and Ireland, 63,786; making up the above total of 345,066.

## ART. V.—TRIBUTE OF NEW ORLEANS TO THE MEMORY OF LEE.

EULOGIES BY THE REV. DR. B. M. PALMER, HON. WM. MURWELL, HON. THOS. J. SEMMES.

The manifold expressions of reverence for the exalted virtues of the immortal Lee, which since his untimely end have occupied the almost exclusive attention of the entire South, culminated, in New Orleans, at the meeting held on the evening of the 18th of October, at the St. Charles Theatre. With whom the idea originated was never asked. It might have sprung simultaneously in the minds of thousands. Sufficient was it for the community to know that such a meeting was called. Enough for them to hear of a place appointed; their own grief-stricken hearts, a deep seated, love and veneration for the mighty dead, did all the rest. The spontaneous outburst which, on Friday, saddened every house with the badge of woe, brought to these obsequies of departed worth its thousands of votaries. Far from exhibiting the characteristics of an ordinary gathering, or owing its imposing ceremonies and multitude of hearers to the usual and far too frequent claptrap of political or sensational ring-masters, an emotion had been stirred beyond the reach of managers, however skilled, above the art of orators, however cunning.

It is to be regretted we did not possess a building sufficient in size to have contained the thousands who would gladly have participated. It is to be regretted an entire people could not have risen *en masse* to do the first General and truest Christian Gentleman honor. Innumerable as seemed the gathering, it was but the exponent of the masses.

Magnificent as was the spectacle, were human power unlimited, it would have paled before the pageant which a deeply stricken people would have prepared. As it was, without preparation, on the impulse of the moment, and ignoring any of the customary accessories, New

Orleans, on the most sorrowful business ever undertaken, assembled the largest meeting ever held by her people.

#### THE AUDIENCE.

Rarely in the history of Old Drury has such an audience collected within its spacious precincts. The hour appointed had scarcely arrived ere the thoroughfares within squares of the immediate vicinity were thronged. Troups of ladies, young and old, entire families, crowded the vestibule, and surged into the lobbies. Quite a large number of gentlemen had been selected as a committee of reception and each new arrival of the gentler sex was at once escorted to seats reserved exclusively for them.

The dress-circle was occupied almost entirely by ladies, and many utterly unable to procure seats, were compelled to seek the second tier. We noticed quite a number dressed in deep mourning, and in their toilettes a large majority had selected the soberer hues. As for the sturdier portion of the community, chairs for half were utterly out of the question. A sea of humanity flooded the third tier, drifted through lobbies, poured into the passages, and overwhelmed the parquette.

In a word, scarce a square foot of standing room remained. The stage, of course, was thronged to its utmost space, and many eager listeners sought quiet places within hearing behind the scenes. Unlike almost any audience we have ever seen, the first confusion of entering the theatre over, a death-like stillness prevailed. Perhaps at no time since the gathering of which assembled to do honor to the memory of John C. Calhoun, were orators heard with more breathless attention.

#### THE DECORATIONS.

Here woman's taste, if not her handiwork, rose in its devotion with almost the ardor of inspiration. All that tenderness could suggest, all instinctive skill accomplish, all affection, respect and reverence achieve, seemed lavished on this labor of love. Stretching like a pall from the lofty dome, broad folds of sombre black and white shut out in this hour of tribulation the gilded ornaments of pleasure, veiled in their mournful drapery the gaudy show of mirth. Spreading over the decorated tiers, twining around the scores of gleaming pillars, enveloping the boxes of the proscenium; the work

of transformation was indeed complete. Gloomier than the hollow arches and darkened recesses of some grand old cathedral, it was really a temple for the dead. Flcecy festoons of snowy crape fluttering solemnly on the inky bands, and mourning rosettes dotted here and there on the dismal length, if anything, heightened the weird-like sadness of this atmosphere of woe.

With its arch enveloped with flags, the upholstery shrouded in sable folds, the flags of foreign nations draped in crape, a coffin lying in state, and the picture of the dead hero and his immortal Lieutenant in the back ground, the stage presented a spectacle even more impressive than the auditorium. The entrance to the theatre was almost completely covered with black and white streamers, and crowded as it was by the crush of moving throngs, its funeral pomp inspired an almost instinctive quiet. Hundreds wandered in during the day to watch the work of preparation. Contributions to a peoples' mournful pageant seemed to come from every household, and fair women vied with each other in choosing from their treasures. To them is due all praise to them do we owe all or nearly all the kindly feelings the assembly was so well calculated to instil.

Through all the morning the arduous task had been in progress. Far back behind the scenes that mysterious domain, filled with so much mystery and romance, were gathered in silent knots the busy workers, with scarcely a sound but the occasional tearing of a fabric, or a low-voiced direction to one of the assistants, the work had been accomplished. Truly an effort worthy of the occasion was this woman's tribute to the memory of Lee. *N. O. Times.*

#### THE MEETING

was called to order by Mr. E. L. Jewell, who introduced Mr. C. A. Johnson, the President, and read the following list of Vice President's and other officers :

Dr. W. N. Mercer,  
A. L. Stewart,  
M. O. H. Norton,  
Col. E. Waggaman,  
L. R. Coleman,  
Thomas Sloo,  
J. J. Finney,  
W. M. Perkins,  
Dr. G. W. Brickell,

W. S. Pike,  
General J. B. Hood,  
S. O. Nelson,  
Governor J. Weller,  
General Bragg,  
Dr. E. S. Drew,  
John Davidson,  
M. Mussum,  
S. H. Kennedy,

Dr. J. S. Copes,  
 T. A. Adams,  
 A. Chiapella,  
 J. Tuyes,  
 John Pasley,  
 J. P. Smith,  
 Dr. W. H. Holcombe,  
 H. Peralta,  
 C. Cavaroc,  
 E. J. Hart,  
 J. Janney,  
 Dr. Howard Smith,  
 B. M. Turnbull,  
 S. Toby,  
 W. G. Robinson,  
 W. A. Shrodsire,  
 Judge W. H. Cooly,  
 Daniel Edwards,  
 Ar. Miltenberger,  
 R. S. Charles,  
 F. W. Seymour,  
 General A. G. Blanchard,  
 John W. Bingham,  
 E. Toby,  
 T. S. Williams,  
 Henry Bidwell,  
 J. B. Vanhorn,  
 W. J. Castell,  
 A. Couturie,  
 George Cronan,  
 B. Nugent,  
 E. H. Fairchild,  
 O. Voorhies,  
 J. B. Heno,  
 A. Menlier,  
 R. H. Marr,  
 R. Wamsley,  
 Hanson Kelley,  
 Wm. Lynd,  
 C. Dufour,  
 G. A. Breaux,  
 C. E. Carr,  
 Alex. Walker,  
 Randell Hunt,  
 Dr. W. S. Anstin,  
 P. C. Cuvellier,  
 L. Prados,  
 M. A. Foute,

General G. T. Beauregard,  
 P. S. Wiltz,  
 General D. H. Manry,  
 George Jonas,  
 Joseph Ellison,  
 C. Pothoff,  
 W. M. Randolph,  
 W. J. Seymour,  
 Am. Fortier,  
 H. M. Summers,  
 Theo. Shute,  
 Judge E. Abell,  
 S. Magner,  
 P. Fourchy,  
 R. L. Bruce,  
 J. B. Collie,  
 John Witherspoon,  
 W. H. Vredenburg,  
 H. O. Seixas,  
 Richard Taylor,  
 R. Pritchard,  
 M. Marigny,  
 Colonel A. P. Mason,  
 Judge L. Duvioguesaud,  
 J. C. Rogers,  
 E. S. Keep,  
 J. Q. A. Fellows,  
 E. Renes,  
 R. J. Kerr,  
 M. Lagan,  
 A. M. Bickham,  
 G. W. Race,  
 J. A. Stevenson,  
 D. F. Kenner,  
 Emile LeSere,  
 Maj. R. Strong,  
 P. H. Foley,  
 A. W. Merriam,  
 E. Limit,  
 J. Hassinger,  
 J. H. New,  
 Sam Henderson,  
 C. Roreling,  
 Judge J. B. Cotton,  
 J. Ad Rozier,  
 C. A. Miltenberger,  
 S. H. Boyd,  
 M. Lardner,



Tom Henderson,  
J. C. Van Winkle,  
Henry B. Foley,  
J. M. Sandidge,  
Douglas West,  
John A. Grow,  
A. Voorhies,  
T. G. Hunt,  
Dr. T. H. Robertson,  
J. T. Doswel,  
G. W. Boaman,  
G. M. Bayly,  
Dr. J. T. Bruns,  
P. Irwin,  
J. G. Gaines,  
J. H. Carter,  
Captain T. P. Leathers,  
Dr. W. P. Brewer,  
R. W. Adams,  
G. DeFeriet,  
R. Milliken,  
Chas. Macready,  
R. Pitkin,  
J. Wm. Davis,  
T. I. Dix,  
Sam. Manning Todd,  
L. H. Pilie,  
S. Friedlander,  
V. Heerman,  
J. B. Walton,  
S. F. Power,  
H. Block,  
Capt. J. W. Cannon,  
J. J. Corson,  
J. I. Adams,  
John Burnside,  
A. H. May,  
L. Schneider,  
John Meyers,  
J. Armstrong,  
C. H. Slocumb,  
John Henderson,  
G. W. Hynson,  
W. M. Owen,  
T. B. Lee,  
Samual Bell,  
F. G. Barriere,  
John Saunders,

J. J. Noble,  
E. Labatut,  
R. S. Morse,  
Col. F. Dumontel,  
Charles Villere,  
C. H. Monton,  
E. A. Fellowes,  
J. W. Sheerer,  
Judge T. W. Collens,  
Dr. B. H. Moss,  
Edward Barnet,  
A. G. Ober,  
A. N. Ogden,  
G. W. Campbell,  
Judge J. N. Lee,  
H. McCloskey,  
T. L. Bayne,  
G. W. Manson,  
Geo. D. Hite,  
J. C. Sinnott,  
B. Gerron,  
Dr. J. S. Lewis,  
W. H. Letchford,  
W. H. Henning,  
T. T. Packwood,  
T. McKean,  
J. U. Payne,  
George Ferret,  
Pas. Labarre,  
D. B. Penn,  
R. M. Montgomery,  
T. L. Macon,  
S. L. James,  
J. E. Vose,  
E. A. Tyler,  
E. W. Halsey,  
I. N. Marks,  
Jos. Hoy,  
W. B. Schmidt,  
A. T. Bennett,  
Wm. Creevy,  
H. Doane,  
H. A. M. Farwell,  
R. N. Lewis,  
G. A. Fosdick,  
C. W. Squires,  
L. N. Lane,  
W. M. Smallwood,

Jo' n Williams,  
 B. M. Howell,  
 W. Dameron,  
 J. P. Moore,  
 T. C. Jenkins,  
 F. C. Zacharie,  
 Frank Rawle,  
 Geo. Y. Bright,  
 R. M. Doswell,  
 Samuel Smith,  
 G. W. Logan, Jr.,  
 W. V. Wren,  
 N. Trapagnier,  
 P. Gravoire,  
 S. H. Aby,  
 Henry Abraham,  
 E. Peale,  
 J. P. Rondeau,  
 Herman Rice,  
 A. Roussel,  
 J. F. A. Boyle,  
 C. H. Luzenberg,  
 J. H. Wingfield,  
 J. J. Brown,  
 J. S. Lanphier,  
 J. W. Blackmore,  
 Dan. Hickok,  
 G. H. Braughn,  
 L. Folger,  
 J. L. Lewis,  
 John Breen,  
 E. Lefranc,  
 C. T. Buddecke,  
 S. B. Newman,  
 Marshall J. Smith,  
 Samuel Barnes,  
 John M. Butts,  
 Emile J. O. Brien,  
 John W. Hillman,  
 Henry B. Kelly,  
 F. Dolbende,  
 I. Caulfield,  
 Jas. C. Batchelor, M. D.,  
 W. C. Raymond,

Alf. Moulton,  
 C. T. Nash,  
 E. John Harris,  
 John Chaffe,  
 C. E. Carr,  
 Richard Herrick,  
 Jos. Satini,  
 J. C. Denis,  
 A. G. Brice,  
 John Hawkins,  
 T. Gwathney,  
 Samuel Powers,  
 M. D. Bringier,  
 A. Fusilier,  
 J. L. Segur,  
 F. H. Hatch,  
 L. Homes,  
 V. Myer,  
 L. Gallot,  
 Dr. Samuel Logan,  
 T. W. Blake,  
 J. B. Camors,  
 Henry Haller,  
 L. Ferriere,  
 Nelson McStea,  
 L. Christ,  
 H. Von Phul,  
 R. T. Packwood,  
 T. S. Elder,  
 J. M. Gould,  
 J. J. Hughes,  
 C. Newton,  
 N. Dufour,  
 C. A. Bredow,  
 Moses Greenwood,  
 T. C. Herndon,  
 L. A. Wiltz,  
 Edward Rigney,  
 C. B. Watts,  
 Geo. W. Sizer,  
 W. I. Salter,  
 Henry J. Vose,  
 J. M. McCandlish,  
 John Tobin,

John Crickard.

SECRETARIES :

T. H. Higinbotham,

John D. Britton,

J. C. Abrams,

E. C. Payne,

Wm. H. Cantzon,

Mr. Johnson, on taking his seat formally thanked the audience and Committee of Arrangements for the honour conferred upon him and the Vice-Presidents, in selecting them to preside at so magnificent an assembly. Usually it would be incumbent on him to explain the object of the meeting, but in this case the motive which induced it was too deeply implanted in the breasts of all to require one word. With a short but eloquent allusion to the great man whose memory the gathering had collected to honor, he closed.

The Rev. W. F. Adams then delivered a brief but fervent prayer.

After Stabat Mater, splendidly rendered by Jaeger's band, Hon. Wm. Burwell was introduced and spoke as follows.

ADDRESS OF HON. WM. M. BURWELL

The Republican Constitution of the United State of America has, like the Divine Constitution for the moral government of man, been a subject of bitter and bloody controversy. The one is fraught with the salvation, the other with the freedom of mankind. In these august wars each combatant has claimed to be the exponent of the true faith. Each has denounced the doctrines and reviled the motives of the other, and the terms of orthodox and heretic in the one conflict, have been the synonyms of loyalist and rebel in the other. Impartial mankind has always done justice to those who peril life for faith. the name of Luther and of Loyola, of Hampden and of Russel, of Washington and of Adams, of Hancock and of Henry, have survived the venom of contemporaneous defamation in the worship of all who reverence courage and virtue. It was tis fidelity to truth which has raised Robert E. Lee, by the brevet of universal acclamation, to take rank with those deemed worthy the Apotheosis of civil and religious liberty.

In the debates upon the true construction of the American Constitution, one creed was, that paramount sovereignty resulted to the Federal Government from the compact and concession of the States, or of the whole people. It was the belief of another party that sovereign power, incapable alike of alienation or division, remained with each of the separate states which had created the government. As this controversy originated with the men who had fought the re-

volution and framed the Union, no imputation upon their motives or memory, has ever been entertained. But it resulted from this radical and irreconcilable difference of opinion, that when the jurisdiction of the Federal and State governments, came in ultimate and armed conflict, that those who believed in the sovereignty of the separate States felt that their personal allegiance was primarily due to the State of which they were citizens.

In this latter sentiment and spirit Robert E. Lee, at the beginning of the late civil war, took his stand on the side of his mother State. It was natural and consistent that he should have done so. The descendant of Englishmen, who had maintained legal liberty from Runnymede to Yorktown. Allied by blood to that Richard Henry Lee, who was the first to move in the first Continental Congress, on the 7th June; 1776, a resolution, "That these United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." The son of Light Horse Harry Lee, whose daring and desperate combats for American liberty have inspired the genius of the orator, the patriot and the poet, and of whom the Congress of the United States has said: "Notwithstanding rivers and intrenchments, he with a small band, conquered the foe by warlike skill and prowess, and firmly bound by his humanity those who had been conquered by his arms,"

Born in the same Westmoreland which had given Washington to the cause of republican freedom, reared amid the scenes, associations and traditions which impressed upon his heart the ineffable virtues of his great countryman, and even allied by marriage to his adopted family, it is not wonderful that he should have adopted the doctrines of these great examples on the one hand, as he has emulated their deeds on the other. With Richard Henry Lee he believed that the States are and of right ought to be "free and independent." With George Washington, he deliberately renounced an allegiance and surrendered a commission, to a government which he had served with honor, and decided to follow the fortunes of a State which had decided to dissolve "its political connection" with that to which he had owed service. With him he renounced a career which had led to renown, and must have ended in content and prosperity.

With both of these great examples he perilled life, fame and fortune upon the result of a struggle of which his own knowledge convinced him more than any other man the desperate inequality.

But the leading trait of Lee's character was one which he possessed in common with Washington. It was fidelity to duty. When called by the dictates of conscience, professional glory had no bands wealth and station no attraction; defeat, disappointment, death, no terrors, which could restrain or deter him. At the call of the Commonwealth of Virginia, who he had been taught to reverence above all other human authorities, he placed his all at her command. In this he did no more than the humbler thousands who accompanied him. He claimed no merit marks for duty, nor do they. With a conscientious conviction of having performed his duty, he accepted his lot. It was insult, disfranchisement, poverty. It was exile from every privilege which he had inherited. And yet how different was his conduct from that of many eminent exiles, from Marius to Napoleon! No moody discontent, no vindictive vituperation, no base betrayal or desertion of those who had followed him, no ex parte narrative to show that every one was to blame for what had happened except himself. Lexington has proved a PATMOS from which has emanated lessons of peace and good will. He never paid to fortune the abject tribute of complaint, but bound the cross that God had laid upon him to his bosom, and bowed with meekness under the torture that inscrutable wisdom had allotted.

What an example has he offered to his friends and to his enemies—of loyal and scrupulous maintenance of his parole as a soldier, and of his renewed allegiance as a man. A life of labor, for the honest maintenance of those dependent on him. A devotion of his days to the instruction of the youth of his country, in the knowledge which would fit them to restore its prosperity and renown.

In his personal appearance. General Lee combined fine bodily proportions with a dignified courtesy of manner. His composure was such that he never evinced an undue excitement in victory, nor an unmanly depression in defeat. He was accessible at all times, and to all men. A faithful and consistent follower of Christ, he was as unassuming in his religious as in his professional character. His family relations were perfect. He treated with unvarying



tenderness and respect his wife, for years an uncomplaining invalid; a partner who appreciated his worth, and fully sympathized with the weight of duty which had been so long and so often cast upon him.

Perhaps no family was ever more truly united by the ties of affection, or enjoyed more the respect and attachment of friends. His sons were his companions in peace, and his comrades in camp. His daughters modest examples of exalted womanhood and filial duty. His friendships were well chosen and permanent. His fondness for children was proverbial. Spending the evening with a large party during the siege of Richmond, he would avoid with considerate politeness a conversation upon strategy or politics, and devoted himself to enjoying the company of little girls who crowded about him. It seemed a relief from the cares of the camp and the perplexities of the situation, to look upon their happy faces and listen to their kindly words.

While President of Washington College he rode on horseback, accompanied by one of his daughters, on a short tour across the mountains. In passing the defile of the Peaks of Otter, two children were playing among the rocks at a short distance from their humble home. On seeing the travelers they moved towards the house, and as their path was paralld with the road Gen. Lee asked "why they ran away?" and "If they were afraid of me?" The little girl, "We are not afraid of you, but we are not dressed nice enough to see you."

"Why, who do you think I am?" "You are General Lee, we knew you by your picture."

It was thus he was enshrined in the popular heart, and imprinted on the popular memory. His hold upon the soldiers of the Southern States was founded on their instinctive appreciation of the grandeur and gentleness of his nature. No shadow of doubt ever crossed their thoughts of him. The fathers and mothers of the South committed their sons and their substance to him with the same confidence in his fidelity. They delighted to give him proofs of their affection and of their trust. A farmer, Mr. Matthews, of Pulaski county, Virginia, had a very valuable young horse, worth an incredible sum in these days of need. He requested a neighbor who visited the army to look at Gen. Lee's stable, and see whether "the old man

TRIBUTE OF NEW ORLEANS TO THE MEMORY OF LEE.

would be the better of a good horse." Hearing that such was the case, he offered the horse as a present to the General. Learning the character of the farmer, and his ability to bestow a present so acceptable as a war horse, he wrote such an acceptance of the patriotic offer, that the farmer declared with emotion that such a letter was worth more than any present could have been.

When at the siege of Richmond it was so difficult to obtain supplies that the army was upon one occasion almost without food, Gen. Lee addressed an autograph letter to the people. At once the women of Virginia sent from their scanty stores a share of that which was needed to sustain their own household, and the necessities of the army was abundantly, though temporarily relieved.

It is some alleviation of the grief which weighs down the Southern heart that the person and professional character of Robert E. Lee has excited the respect and the condolence of those who had opposed the cause to which he had devoted his services. As the South came to see that the violent death of a Northern President may have deprived them of a humane advocate, so the North feels that the example and influence of General Lee disposed the Southern people to restored social and political relations. He had won the enthusiastic confidence of the South by his unfaltering fidelity in war, and his noble participation in the social suffering which has succeeded it.

He has earned the admiration of the North by the scrupulous honor with which he has kept the parole obligations as a soldier and a citizen. Both sections owe deep obligations to this brave and truthful man. Both silently approach his grave, and cast into its solemn portals some emblem of an animosity which can no longer harm any except him who may cherish it. From this day, and from these scenes, will arise a calmer, a more just, and a more generous feeling, among those who were but lately in deadly enmity. It becomes us all to acknowledge ourselves not exempt from the weakness and errors of humanity. Mourning the madness which has divided and distracted the country, and threatened the extinction of the only ray of freedom now alight in the world, we may in the presence of the grave, and the spirit of him who fills it, unite in a sincere wish for peace, and a regret for all the evils, and all the wrong which have been endured or inflicted by either sections. Like

the scriptural example, we may cover ourselves with the mantle of oblivion, and walking reverently backward, cast it over and conceal the infirmities which have caused us so much sorrow.

The countrymen of Lee are consoled to know that anger is but a very short madness. His character and motives will rise superior to any cloud of sectional prejudice which may overhang them. The day and hour will come when as England claims George Washington as a grand specimen of Anglo-saxon virtue, intellect and manhood, republican America will proudly enroll the name of Robert E. Lee as a noble example of the virtue and courage of an American, who fought for what he regarded as the birthright of civil and religious freedom, which his fathers had won and bequeathed him.

The orchestra then performed Rossini's beautiful Prayer from "Moses in Egypt," after which Hon. Thomas J. Semmes delivered the following

ORATION :

Robert E. Lee is dead. The Potomac overlooked by the home of the hero, over divided contending peoples, but now no longer a boundary—it conveys to the ocean a nation's tears. South of the Potomac is in mourning ; profound grief pervades every heart, lamentation is heard from every heart, for Lee sleeps amid the slain, whose memory is so dear to us. In the language of Moïna :

They were slain for us,  
 "And their blood flowed out in a rain for us,  
 "Red, rich and pure, on the plain for us.

"And years may go,  
 "But our tears shall flow  
 "O'er the dead who have died in vain for us."

North of the Potomac, not only sympathises with its widowed sister, but with respectful homage, the brave and generous clustering around the corpse of the great Virginia, with one accord exclaim.

This earth that bears the dead  
 Bears not alive so stout a gentleman.

Sympathetic nations, to whom our lamentations have been transmitted on the wings of lightning, will, with pious jealousy, envy our grief, because Robert E. Lee was an American. Seven cities claimed the honor of having given birth to the great pagan poet; but all christian nations, while revering America as the mother of Robert E. Lee, will claim for the Nineteenth Century the honor of his birth. There was but one Lee, the great Christian captain, and his fame justly be-

longs to Christendom. The Nineteenth Century has attacked everything—it has attacked God, the soul, reason, morals, society, the distinction between good and evil. Christianity is vindicated by the virtues of Lee. He is the most brilliant and cogent argument in favor of a system illustrated by such a man; he is the type of the reign of law in the moral order; that reign of law which the philosophic Duke of Argyle has so recently, and so ably, discussed as pervading the natural, as well as the supernatural, world. One of the chief characteristics of the christian is duty. Throughout a checkered life the conscientious performance of duty seem; to have been the the main spring of the actions of Gen. Lee. In his relation of father, son, husband, soldier, citizen, duty shines conspicuous in all his acts. His agency as he advanced to more elevated stations, attracts more attention, and surrounds him with a brighter halo of glory; but he is unchanged, from first to last—it is Robert E. Lee.

The most momentous act of his life was the selection of side at the commencement of the political troubles which immediately preceded the recent conflict. High in military rank, caressed by Gen. Scott, courted by those possessed of influence and authority, no politician, happy in his domestic relations, and in the enjoyment of competent fortune, consisting in the main of property situated on the borders of Virginia—nevertheless, impelled by a sense of duty as he himself testified before a Congressional committee since the war, Gen. Lee determined to risk all and unite his fortunes with those of his native State, whose ordinances, as one of her citizens, he considered himself bound to obey.

Having joined the Confederate army, he complained not that he was assigned to the obscure duty of constructing coast defences for South Carolina and Georgia, nor that he was subsequently relegated to unambitious commands in Western Virginia. The accidental circumstance that Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was wounded at the battle of Seven Pines, in May, 1862, placed Lee in command of the army of North Virginia. As commander of that army, he achieved world wide reputation without giving occasion during a period of three years to any complaint on the part of officers, men or citizens, or enemies, that he had been guilty of any act, illegal, oppressive, unjust, or inhuman in its character. This is the highest tribute possible to the wisdom and virtue, of Gen. Lee. for as a general rule, law was disregarded, officers, whether justly or unjustly, were constantly

the subject of complaint and discord, and jealousy prevailed in camp, and in the Senate chamber. There was a fraction of our people represented by an unavailing minority in Congress, who either felt or professed to feel, a jealousy, whose theory was just, but whose application at such a time was unsound. They wished to give as little power as possible, because they dreaded a military despotism, and thus desired to send our armies forth with half a shield and broken swords to protect the Government from its enemies, lest if the bucklers were entire and the swords perfect, they might be tempted, in the hey-day of victory, to smite their employers. But this want of confidence never manifested itself toward Gen. Lee, whose conduct satisfied the most suspicious, that his ambition was not of glory, but of the performance of duty. The army always felt this; the fact that he sacrificed no masses of human beings in desperate charges that he might gather laurels from the spot enriched by their gore. A year or more before he was appointed Commander-in-chief of all the Confederate forces, a bill had passed Congress creating that office. It failed to become a law, the President having withheld his approval. Lee made no complaints; his friends solicited no votes to counteract the veto. When a bill for the same purpose was passed at a subsequent period it was whispered about that he could not accept the position. To a committee of Virginians who had called on him to ascertain the truth, his reply was that he felt bound to accept any post, the duties of which his country felt him competent to perform. After the battle of Gettysburg he tendered his resignation to President Davis because he was apprehensive his failure, the responsibility for which he did not pretend to throw on his troops or officers, would produce distrust of his abilities and destroy his usefulness. I am informed the President, in a beautiful and touching letter, declined to listen to such a proposition. During the whole period of the war he steadily declined all presents, and when on one occasion, a gentleman sent him several dozen of wine he turned it over to the hospitals in Richmond, saying the wounded and sick needed it more than he. He was extremely simple and unostentatious in his habits, and shared with his soldiers their privations as well as their dangers. Toward the close of the war meat was very scarce within the Confederate lines in the neighborhood of the contending armies. An aid of the President having occasion to visit General Lee on official business in the field, was invited to



to dinner. The meal spread on the table consisted of corn bread and a small piece of bacon buried in a large dish of greens. The quick eyed aid discovered that none of the company, which was composed of the General's personal staff, partook of the meat, though requested to do so in the most urbane manner by the General, who presided ; he, therefore, also declined, and noticed that the meat was carried off untouched.

After the meal was over, he inquired of one of the officers present what was the reason for this extraordinary conduct. His reply was "we had borrowed the meat for the occasion and promised to return it."

Duty alone induced this great soldier to submit to such privation, for the slightest intimation given to friends in Richmond would have filled his tent with all the luxuries that blockade-runners and speculators had introduced for the favored few able to purchase.

This performance of duty was accompanied by no harsh manner or cynical expressions ; for the man whose soul is ennobled by true heroism, possesses a heart as tender as it is firm. His calmness under the most trying circumstances, and his uniform sweetness of manner were almost poetical. They manifested "the most sustained tenderness of soul that ever caressed the chords of a lyre." In council he was temperate and patient, and his words fell softly and evenly as snow flakes, like the sentences that fell from the lips of Ulysses.

On the termination of the war his conduct until his death has challenged the admiration of friends and foes ; he honestly acquiesced in the inevitable result of the struggle ; no discontent, sourness or complaint, has marred his tranquil life at Washington College, where death found him at his post of duty, engaged in fitting the young men of his country by proper discipline and education, for the performance of the varied duties of life. It is somewhat singular that both Lee and his great Lieutenant, Jackson, should in their last moments have referred to Hill. It is reported that Gen. Lee said, "Let my tent be struck ; send for Hill ;" while the lamented Jackson in his delirium cried out, "Let A. P. Hill prepare for action ; march the infantry rapidly to the front. Let us cross over the river and rest under the shade of the trees." Both heroes

died with commands for military movements on their lips ; both the noblest specimens of the Christian soldier produced by any country or any age ; both now rest under the shade of the trees of Heaven.

After an aria from "Lucie" by the band, the Rev. Doctor Palmer was introduced, and delivered.

THE EULOGY.

Mr. President, gentlemen and ladies—I should have been better pleased had I been permitted to sit as a mute listener to the eloquent tribute of the memory of the great chieftain who now reposes in the Valley of Death, which has just fallen from the lips that have closed. The nature of my calling so far separates me from public life that I scarcely feel competent to allude to the themes which naturally gather around his memory.

When informed that other artists would draw the picture of the great hero, I yielded to the solicitations of friends, in the belief that nothing would be left for me to-night but to describe the Christian and the man.

You are naturally familiar with the early life of him whose name we celebrate, and over whose memory we this night shed our tears ; with this grave and sedate boyhood, giving promise of that reserved strength found in the maturity of his manhood ; with his academic career at West Point, where he received the highest honors in a class brilliant with such names as that of Joseph E. Johnston ; how he served his long apprenticeship in those duties, which he discharged as a graduate of that institution ; with his career during the Mexican war, which drew him out from comparative obscurity ; and you are familiar without repetition, with that great mortal and spiritual struggle through which he passed in one night of grief and anguish ; when, abandoning the service in which he had gained so much honor, he laid his sword on the altar of his native State, and swore to live or die in her defense.

It would be a somewhat singular subject of speculation for the philosopher, if we were to discover that national character is so often expressed in a single individual as the representative of the class. It is wonderful and remarkable field for speculation how great men are born in clusters sometimes, and as one star shines in solitary strength from the general gathering of a great constellation,

filling the sky with the glory which is in that combination, so it is a wonderful field for the speculation of the practical, physical, intellectual and moral philosopher, what should make a narrow strip of land here and there, all over the world, the mother of great men. This subject may well invite the attention of the most philosophic mind to solve the problem, how ancient Greece, with its indented coast, inviting to adventure, should have been the mother of heroes; how her poets, sculptors, artists and men of science, still, after the lapse of centuries, should have been the educators of mankind, leaving grand and glorious monuments, such as modern civilization, with all its boasted reforms has never been surpassed or scarcely equalled; to investigate the cause, why, in the three hundred years of American history, it should have been assigned to the Old Dominion to be the mother of States, and not only of States, but of men by whom States and empires are formed. It might be curious, were it possible for us to-night to inquire into this. Unquestionably there is in this problem the element of race, for he is blind to all the truths of history taught by all revolutions who does not recognize a select race and select individuals of that race to make them.

But premitting all speculation of that sort, when Virginia unfolds the scroll of her immortal sons—not because other illustrious names do not appear in the constellation, but because theirs, shine out from among them—we read the name of George Washington; and then Mr. President, after an interval of three-fourths of a century, during which other deeds are recorded, and names are traced that history will never let die, we come to the name—the only in all the annals of American history that can be named in this perilous connection—that of Robert E. Lee, the second Washington. [Applause.] Well may old Virginia be proud of her twin sons, almost a century apart shining like those stars, which, combining their glory, throw their splendor over the world. Sir, this is not an artificial rhetoric which suggests this comparison; because these two great names of American history are naturally linked together, the suggestion springs to the lips of every man. It is scarcely possible to discuss the traits of one, without dropping a hint of the mysterious connection which binds the two together. They were alike in the early history of their boyhood, both earnest grave and sedate. They were alike in that peculiar purity which belongs only to a noble boy giving promises of a life spotless, if not great, until it closes in death. They were alike in all that commanding presence which seems the signature which Heaven sometimes places on the pure soul, when to that soul is given a fit dwelling; alike in that noble courage and commanding dignity which needs only to be witnessed to exercise a mesmeric influence, and which subdues and melts with a power that cannot be repressed. They were alike in the remarkable combination and symmetry of their intellectual attributes, all brought up to the same equal level; no faculty of the mind overlapped any other; but all were so equally,

so well developed in judgment and reason, in memory, in fancy, that you are almost disposed to deny him greatness, because no single attribute of the mind was projected on an independent scale, just as objects sometime appear smaller to the eye, because symmetrical. They were like above all in that grand, that Christian virtue, which was the climax of the character in both, as told you so beautifully in the tribute which has been rendered to his memory by my friend, whose high privilege it was to be the compeer of Lee, although engaged in another sphere of public service. They were alike in their ancestral fortune, and yet so strikingly dissimilar. The one the representative of a stupendous revolution, which it pleased Heaven to bless, and which gave birth to one of the greatest nations of the globe, to which was assigned a continent for a home. The other the representative and the agent of a similar revolution, upon which it pleased high Heaven to throw the darkness of its frown, so that by carrying upon his heart the weight of this crush, he was at length stifled by it. And the nation whom he led in battle gathers with spontaneity of grief over all this land, strewn with graves and reddened with blood, and the tears of a widowed nation in their bereavement are shed over his honored grave. [Applause.]

But, sir, these rude suggestions, which fall almost impromptu, suggest what I desire to throw before the audience to-night.

I accept Robert E. Lee as the true type of the American man, Southern gentleman. A brilliant English writer has well remarked, with a touch of philosophy that when a nation is rushing to destruction, the whole force of the nation will shoot up in one grand character like the aloe which blooms and stand for a hundred years, then shoots up in one single sprout; and wherever civilization has worked revolutions it is possible to place the finger on the individual men who are the exponents of the nation's character, after which others, though less noble perhaps, have nevertheless been fashioned. That gentleness and courtesy, that perfect moderation, that self command which enabled him with to be so self-possessed amidst the most trying circumstances in his career, clothed him with the stainless attribute of a gentleman, and a character such as that of the purest woman was united in him with that massive strength, endurance and power, which gave to the people whom he led such momentous strength in the long struggle through which he passed.

Born from the general level of Americans, the blood of noble ancestry flowed in his veins, and he was the type of the race from which he sprung.

But thus democratic in his birth, such was the gentleness and simple majesty of his own character that this only peer in social life, perhaps, can be found in the courts, and among those who have been educated amidst the refinements of courts. In that regard something beautiful and appropriate in the idea that he should become in later life the educator of the young; and, sir, it is should of mourning before Heaven that he was not spared thirty



years to educate a generation for the time that is to come for this widowed South; that in the days when the red banner of battle shall be unfurled again, her sons might fight under his banner, or send forth those sons to sit at his feet as disciples of the Muses, and be a teacher of philosophy; so that with his imperial influence, his more than regal character, his majestic form, and all his intellectual and moral attributes, he might fit those that should come in future, modeled after himself, to take the trusts fallen from his shoulders and bear them to generations unborn.

But, sir, Gen. Lee I accept as the representative of the people; and the temper with which this whole South entered into the gigantic, heinous and disastrous struggle closed, but closed as to us in grief. Sir, they wrong us, whosoever they be that speak, who say that the South was ever impatient to rupture the bonds of the American Union; or in the history of 1776, which, sir, is no more yet a history than in the history of the revolution of 1861 to 1865. [Applause.] They wrong us, sir, who say that it was this Southern land that brought on the revolution of 1776, and that the South desired the revolution of 1861. [Applause] And we are the heirs of all the glory of that immortal struggle; it was purchased with our blood, or the blood of our fathers, which yet flows in these veins, and which we desire to transmit pure to the sons that are born of our lions. [Applause]

All the tradition of the past sixty years was a portion of our inheritance, and it never was easy for any great heart or reflecting mind even to seem to part with that inheritance, and enter upon the perilous undertaking of establishing a new nation,

Mr. President, it was my privilege once to be present and listen to a speech by one of the noblest sons of South Carolina, whose name glitters among galaxy of her great names—for South Carolina was Virginia's sister, and Southern, and stood by the South in all her struggles. [Applause.] That little State, small in compass barren, resources, but great only in the grandeur of her men and the gigantic proportions of those whom she, like Virginia, has produced. I heard one of South Carolina's noblest sons speak on one occasion: "I walked," said he, "through the tower of London, that great depository where is gathered all that to English hearts is precious; and when the guide, in the pride of his English heart, pointed to the spoils of war, gathered through centuries. I turned and said, 'You cannot point to one single trophy from my people or my country, though England has been engaged in two disastrous wars with it.'" [Applause.]

Sir, this was the Southern heart that loved every inch of American soil and every part of that canvas, which, as the emblem of her authority, floated from spire and masthead. And it was only after the anguish of a woman in birth that this land, which now lies in sorrow and ruin, took upon itself that great peril and embarked in the revolution whith the experience of him whose praise is on our



lips to night.

Like the English Nelson he only recognized the word duty—"let every man do his duty"—as the only ensign or motto. Tearing himself away from all the associations of early life, and abandoning the service in which he had gained such honor, he made up his mind to embark in the cause, and with moderation and firmness expressed his willingness to live for his native State and do all and any duty assigned to him. I accept him in his noble teaching equally as the representative of the South in his retirement. It cannot escape any speaker, the dignity of that retirement, when beneath that apple tree at Appomattox he surrendered his sword to the General on the other side; then withdrawing from public observation, withholding himself from all conceivable complications, he devoted himself to the one great work which he undertook to discharge.

So, sir, this land of ours obeyed; quiet, submissives, resigned, yet without resigning those immemorial principles which are the convictions of a life-time, and which lie buried in the recesses of the human heart. [Applause.]

Sir, all over this land of ours there are men like Lee—not as great, not as symmetrical in the development of character, or as grand in the proportions which they have reached, but who, like him, are sleeping upon memories that are holy as death, and who, amidst all reproaches, appeal to the future and to the tribunal of history, when she shall render her final judgment of that struggle, and of the people who embarked in that struggle. [Applause.] We are serene, resigned, obedient, sleeping upon solemn memories; but as said by the poet prophet in the Good Book: "He sleepeth, but the heart waketh"—waketh as it looks forth from the watch tower into the future, only praying now to the Almighty God that those who have conquered may at least have the grace to preserve our constitution intact. And, sir, if it were my privilege to speak to the people all over the entire land, I would utter with profound emphasis that no people ever traversed the moral ideas which underlie the constitution and the laws, that did not in the end perish in disaster, shame, dishonor. [Applause.] Whatever may be the glory of modern civilization and its vast achievements, it still holds true that Truth is immortal and ideas rule the world. [Applause.] And now, sir, I have but a single word to say, and that is, that the grave of this noble hero is bedewed with the tender and sacred tears ever shed on human tomb.

I was sitting in my study this afternoon striving to strike some parallel between the first Washington and the second, and I asked my own heart the question: "Sitting upon the ruin of all your hopes would you not accept the fame and the glory and the career of Robert E. Lee just as soon as the immortal man who was his predecessor?" [Applause.] Sir, there is a pathos in the fallen fortune, which stirs the sensibilities and stirs the fountains of human feeling; and I am not sure but that at this moment Napoleon, as the

strange guest of the Prussian King, is not grander than when he ascended the throne of France.

There is a grandeur in misfortune when born by a noble heart, a heart that has strength to endure without bending or breaking. Perhaps I slide naturally into this comparison, for it is my province to teach that our hearts are made to taste both sweetness and human woe, and through human woe the heart becomes purified—and what is true in the individual case is oftentimes immensely true of a nation in the collective.

Sir, men that once followed this great chieftain through the war, are here to-night, that they may bend and kneel to the grave of him whose voice they obeyed amidst the storm of battle; the young widow, who but as yesterday leaned upon the arm of her soldier husband, and now clasps her young child to her breast, draws hither; that she may shed her young widow's tears over this grave to-night; and the aged matron, that years ago gathered the plaits around her shrunken form and drew the hood over her eyes, remembering her son who fell at Gettysburg or Fredericksburg, now to-night joins us and renews her dirge over him who was that son's chieftain and guide, commander and friend; and the whole nation has arisen in spontaneity of grief, rendering tribute of its love for him.

Sir, there is a unity in the grapes as they grow in clusters upon the vine; hold a branch in the hand you speak of it; but there is another unity of the grapes when thrown into the press, and under the feet of those who trample upon them almost profanely, and their rich forms mingle and their red blood flows together in a communion of wine; and such is the union and communion of the hearts that have been forced together by this misfortune, and we come here in a true feeling of honest grief and affliction, to render tribute of praise to him upon whose face we shall never look again, until that immortal day when we shall behold it transfigured before the throne of God, [Prolonged applause.]

## EDITORIAL.

**DE BOW'S REVIEW.**—This magazine is the recognized standard organ of the planters and traders of the South and West.—*Southern Exchange.*

**DE BOW'S REVIEW**, which is so ably edited by Wm. M. Burwell, comes to us greatly improved in appearance, and we notice unusual care in its articles, from the pen of its editor and talented correspondents.—*Texas Paper.*

**DeBow's Review** for October, contains a series of interesting articles of varied literary character. In commercial and agricultural statistics, DeBow is ever able and instructive.—*Southern Exchange.*

The N. A. and U. S. Gazette, after an extended review of the contents adds: The miscellany is practical and various. Altogether the Review is improving in every respect, and leaving its old rebel spirit out of sight.

**DE** Last but not least is that staunch old veteran in literature, the pride of the South, DeBow's Review. Its familiar face is most welcome to our table, and we would be glad to contribute in any way to its prosperity. As a magazine, it has few equals.—*The Gonzales Inquirer.*

**SOUTHERN NEWSPAPER CLUB.**—We ask the attention of News Agents and subscribers to the arrangement made to club the Review with other Southern newspapers of good character and circulation. We club the Review with the following papers for one year, at the annexed rates.

**TO OUR FRIENDS.**—The Review is now offered as a Magazine of original and eclectic matters, adapted to the interest and advancement of the South. It claims to carry into the domestic circle, sound doctrine and intellectual improvement. It offers to the planter, the most advanced agencies for diminishing the labor, and increasing the product of his lands. To the Merchant it offers monthly reports of the commerce of the leading staple market of the South; to the student of Literature and Science it brings selections from the one and the latest contributions to the other. We wish our subscribers to speak of the Review as in their opinions it deserves, and to obtain, if convenient, clubs from each neighborhood, and forward us the names.

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.**—To E. Steegers of New York, for Steegers, Literarischer Monatsbericht.

To Dolbear college for catalogue & programme session 1870-71

To H. E. Moring Esq. For a copy of the coffee Trade by C. H. Ichoffner Senr. of Amsterdam translated & sold for the benefit of the German Hospital of New York.

Statistical division of the Department of agriculture U. S. for monthly report Oct. 1870.

To S. Halsey Werlein, Esq. for an invitation to attend a meeting of the Calliopean Literary Society, Emory and Henry College Va,

To L. S. Dupre Esq  
 Annal report 1870 of the Board  
 of trade Memphis.

### CLUBS TERMS WITH OUR EXCHANGES.

To those of our exchanges who desire to club with DE BOW'S NEW ORLEANS REVIEW or put in on their Premium List, we offer the following terms:

We will mail DE BOW'S NEW ORLEANS REVIEW on your order, (where it is given as a premium by you, or in club with your publication,) for \$3.00 in advance; being \$2.00 less than our regular price.

The only condition we make to this offer is, that our Magazine alone shall not be offered to subscribers for less the regular price, (\$5.00.)

With every joint subscriber's name you will send us \$3.00, and the Magazine will be mailed by us, direct, for one year. *Your subscribers will have all the advantages of free numbers that we offer to others.*

Old Guard, New York, \$3.00 per annum, \$2.25 Club.

Hunt's Merchants', New York, \$5.00 per annum, \$3.50 Club.

The Eclectic, New York, \$5.00 per annum, \$3.50 Club.

Galaxy, New York, \$4.00 per annum, \$3.00 Club.

Putnam's Monthly, New York, \$4.00 per annum, \$3.00 Club.

Phrenological Journal and Packard's Monthly, New York, \$3.00 per annum, \$2.00 Club.

Harper's Magazine, New York, \$4.00 per annum, \$3.25 Club.

American Odd Fellow, New York, \$2.50 per annum, \$1.50 Club.

Atlantic Monthly, Boston, \$4.00 per annum, \$3.00 Club.

AGENTS.—We want live, wide awake agents for the Review, at every Post Office where there is none. Reader, if you cannot act as such, please induce your P. M. or some influential friend to do so. Compensation liberal.

W. M. Burwell, 120 Common Street, New Orleans, will give any information of any schools advertised in the REVIEW.

Mr. R. Salaun is the travelling agent of the Review, the agency of Mr. R. G. Barnwell having terminated on the 1st August 1870. Mr. J. Wallace Ainger is the business agent of the Review at the New York office.

How to REMIT.—The best way to remit, is by Draft, or Post Office Money Order; but if you cannot do that, send in Registered letter. The registration fee has been reduced to fifteen cents, and the present registration system has been found by the postal authorities to be virtually an absolute protection against losses by mail. All Postmasters are obliged to register letters when ever requested to do so.

H. J. Bartlet & R. W. Rayne caution the public against the purchase of iron ties so constructed so as to have a slot or cut through the side of the Buckle, to provide for the insertion of the hoop, laterally into one side of the Buckle or Loop. As it is an infringement of the rights under the Patents owned.

J. J. McCOMB.



**DE BOW'S REVIEW.**—We have so often noticed this popular, industrial and commercial magazine, and, indeed, it is so well known and so highly appreciated by all classes of readers, that we do not deem it necessary to make an extended notice of it at present. The editor, WILLIAM M. BURWELL, is a Virginian of the old stock. He is universally known throughout the State. He is not only a scholar, a speaker and a polished and forcible writer, but is, perhaps, the most thorough statistician in the South, and admirably fitted to conduct such a magazine.—*Richmond Whig*, June 7.

**DE BOW'S REVIEW.**—The REVIEW is now published in New Orleans and is under the editorial management of Mr. Wm. Burwell, Esq., formerly of this State. It is needless to say that the high reputation the Review held before the war is fully sustained and that it is especially worthy of southern patronage.—*Fredericksburg, Va., News*.

**DE BOW'S MONTHLY REVIEW** for April and May, 1870, is out with a table of contents much more interesting than usual. The editorial articles are written with such force as Mr. Burwell only can express. His ideas are always original, and he invariably presents something novel and refreshing.—*N. O. Republican*.

**DE BOW'S REVIEW**, with its many good things, is on our table. It is now so long since this sterling periodical needed praise from its contemporaries, that we think it rather presuming to say anything more in its favor.—*Fairfield Ledger*, Texas.

**DE BOW'S REVIEW** for April-May welcomed to our table. We have scanned its contents, and find them rich and varied. Mr. John Henry Brown, contributes an article upon the Turpan valley, and the American settlement therein, which we have read with much interest. The present editor, Wm. M. Burwell, is a man of extensive information, a ripe scholar, a forcible writer, full of enthusiasm for the regeneration of the South, and fully able to keep the Review up to the high standard it had reached under the management of Mr. DeBow. It is printed in New Orleans.—*Feliciano Ledger*.

**DE BOW'S REVIEW.**—We are in receipt of the February number of this valuable magazine. Its commercial articles, and statistics are reliable and valuable, and especially interesting just now to the South.—*Exchange*.

Anon we find **DE BOW'S REVIEW**, that stern, unflinching friend of Southern interests, and ably edited by Hon. Wm. Burwell. Under the management of that gentleman, the Review is as flourishing and interesting as at any period of its existence. Published in New Orleans.—*Sugar Planter*.

The Philadelphia American and Gazette at the close of a long resume of the contents of the October 1869 number says: The number is one of the best that has been published and is, as it should be, chiefly devoted to industrial questions.

**DEBOW'S REVIEW.**—This Magazine for May and June, is unusually interesting. W. M. Burwell editor and proprietor, 120 Common St, New Orleans.—*Richmond Whig*.



